Periodical

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THE CRISIS

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THE NEGRO STUDENT SPEAKS

A SYMPOSIUM ON SEGREGATION • J. E. SPINGARN
LESLIE P. HILL • WALTER WHITE • DAVID PIERCE
AND OTHERS

NEGROES IN ANCIENT GREECE

BLACK MESTIZA
A Short Story

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THE CRISIS

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A Record of the Darker Races

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, *Editor-in-Chief*

George W. Streator, Roy Wilkins } *Managing Editors*

AS THE CROW FLIES

What has become of State Rights in the South? We see sucking at the teats of Federal relief 10 per cent of the proud people of Texas; 11 per cent in Mississippi, 13 per cent in Georgia; 15 per cent in Louisiana; 20 per cent in Alabama; 24 per cent in South Carolina and 29 per cent in Florida; and if the colored unemployed got equal consideration these percentages would be doubled.

•

Fifteen million families in the land of the free are on unemployment relief and even this is an improvement on conditions during the reign of Hoover. What a triumph for individual initiative!

•

The current economic philosophy is to buy off revolution by national charity. What kind of men will this breed, and will the results be worth the price?

•

The German conquest of Austria is on the boards. This was an event provided for in the Treaty of Versailles when it cut off the body and tail of Austro-Hungary and expected the head, Vienna, to keep on living.

•

Who in these parlous times dares whisper Free Trade as a cure for Crazy Money?

•

The Associated American Investors have at last put down the Cuban Revolution and Roosevelt recognized the new President Sugar without waiting to learn his other name.

•

The New Deal is organized and conducted chiefly to relieve white distress and give work to white folks. What are we going to do about it? Denounce segregation or organize to relieve black distress and give work to black folk?

Slipping silently through under cover of Roosevelt popularity and with scarce a word of protest, goes the Vinson-Britten Bill to waste one thousand million dollars on those useless machines of murder and snobbery which we call a Navy.

•

The hopeless thing about us is our brain storms of love and hate. We rush to kick a Harding to Hell and a Roosevelt to Heaven with a mass unanimity out of all proportion to facts or probabilities. It is a pitiable proof of lack of reason and judgment.

•

William James used to tell us that we must follow thought by action on pain of spiritual death. Yet we hear of bankers stealing and cabinet officers grafting and public service corporations exploiting, and sit still and do nothing. This does not foreshadow death—it is death.

•

A hell of a lot of difference it makes to a pauper whether a dollar is worth 59 cents or 59 mills!

The German Nazis' one-course Sunday dinner of pea-soup with pork, beans and mutton sounds like a Thanksgiving feast, instead of a sacrificial meal, to the majority of human beings today.

•

Dollars to doughnuts that Hitler wangles up a war in Europe before 1940. What's to lose?

•

If young and yellow Hubert Delaney had murdered a Cracker or raped a white woman his name would have adorned every newspaper from Maine to Spain. But since he merely became the well-equipped Commissioner of Taxes and Assessments in the largest city in the world, we have not found his name in a single Southern daily. Which is news.

•

When New York newspapers were organizing confetti parties to greet every returning aviator, few people suspected that they were being steamed up for a great patriotic steal by the air-lines. As soon as we became *air-minded*, the Big Boys took us in to the tune of $46,800,000 —and Colonel Lindbergh to boot.

Volume 41, No. 3

CONTENTS FOR MARCH, 1934

Whole No. 280

	Page
COVER. Mrs. Gifford Pinchot Organizes Colored Strikers. (See page 71)	
FRONTISPIECE. "Carolina Low Country." Lithograph by Prentiss Taylor.	62
"BLACK MESTIZA." A Story. By Madelen C. Lane	63
THE NEGRO IN GREEK MYTHOLOGY. By Ben N. Azikiwe	65
THE ANTI-LYNCHING BILL	66
I ATTENDED THE N. S. L. CONFERENCE. By Preston Valien	67
NEGRO STUDENTS SUPERIOR. By Monroe Sweetland	68
BEHIND THE SCENES AT GENEVA. By Sidney Strong	69
ALONG THE COLOR LINE. Illustrated	71
"A PENNY A HEAD." By William Pickens	76
BOULDER DAM By Leland Stanford Hawkins	77
SEGREGATION—A SYMPOSIUM	79
REPORT ON HARLEM HOSPITAL	88
POSTSCRIPT. By W. E. B. Du Bois	85

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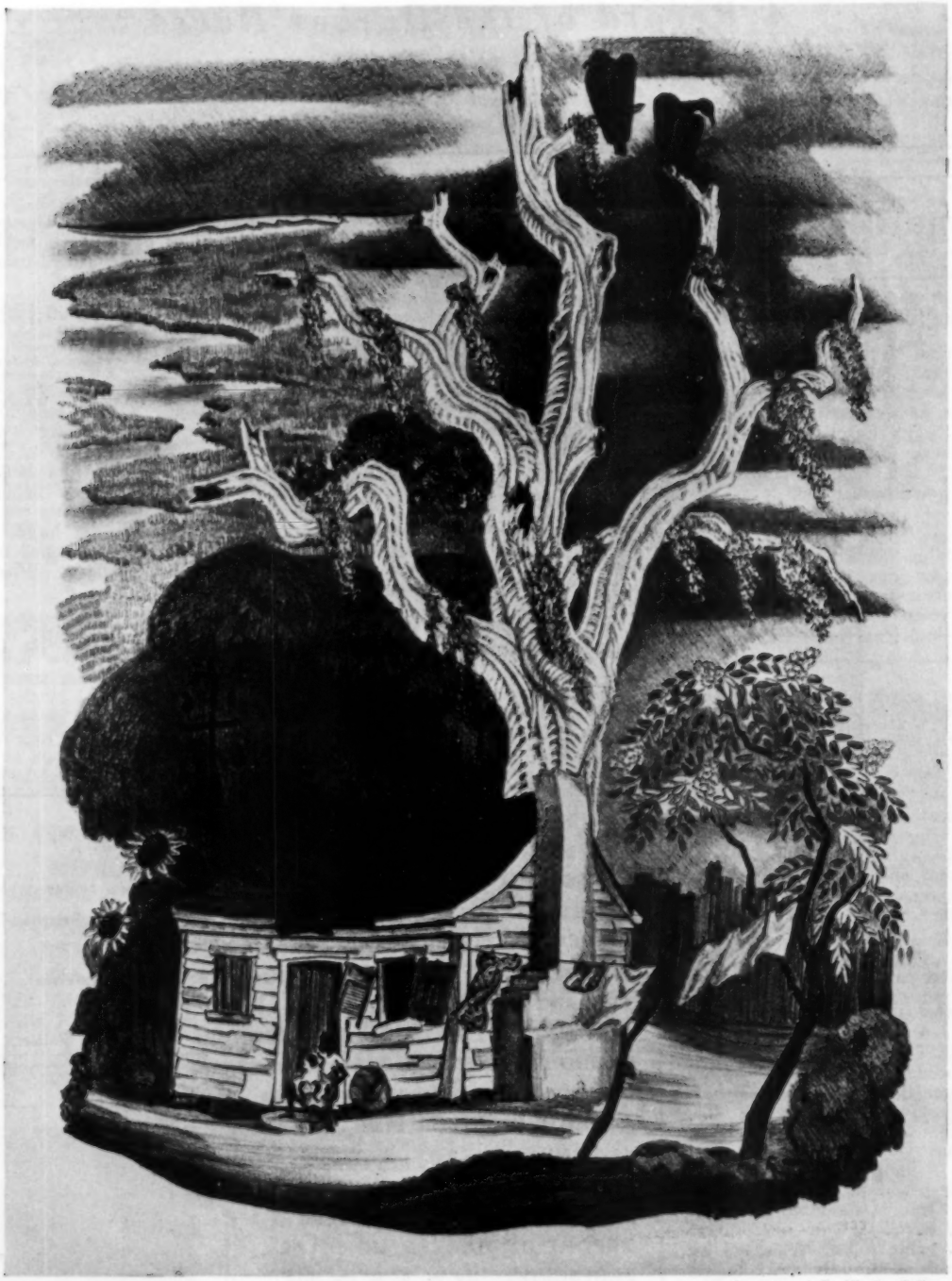


Courtesy of E. Weyhe Gallery

CAROLINA LOW COUNTRY
Lithograph by Prentiss Taylor

Black Mestiza

By MADELEN C. LANE

MARIANA GREENE glanced casually about the room. She hoped her eyes held just the right touch of disinterestedness. She wanted to give her companion the impression that she was accustomed to eating ice cream and angel food cake in a white sweet shop.

But she was interested and thrilled—tremendously so. She cast her eyes at the people in the other booths. There were several white couples within view, the painted faces of the girls a striking contrast to the black and silver modernistic background. And on the end she saw a couple with olive skin and black hair—Mexicans.

Once again Mariana felt a sudden rush of helpless anger and something akin to bitterness surge through her being. She always felt that way whenever she saw dirty, greasy Mexicans or Indians eating in places where decent, well groomed colored people could not enter. But even as she raged inwardly another self took it all calmly. She was not a colored girl that night; she was a Filipino. She batted her eye-lids to remove any trace of her injured feelings and turned toward Juan.

"Nifty place for a town like Phoenix, don't you think?"

Mariana spoke with feigned nonchalance. Juan must not know that this was the first time she had set foot within the place, that her heart had been gripped with cold dread when he had first mentioned coming here. But it was so. Born eighteen years before in the Philippine Islands of a native mother and a Negro father (that is, he was called a Negro although his skin was of a creamy yellow color), Mariana had lived for five years in this little Arizona town associating with the colored people and assimilating their views regarding the world in general.

Unconsciously she had absorbed their hatred and prejudice against, and also their feeling of inferiority before, the white race. She attended the colored high school and most of her friends were Negroes. Whenever they wanted to eat out they always tacitly avoided those places where there was any possibility of being refused service or insulted. Hence it was that Mariana had never entered this sweet shop.

But now she was here with Juan, a Filipino. Mariana glanced at her reflection in the mirror that lined the wall and smiled with satisfaction. Why had she ever been afraid to enter white shops? She had her mother's round face, her transparent, light-brown skin showing creamy underneath. Her hair, coal black like her mother's had deep natural waves. In these days of beauty salons who could tell that they were not artificial? She should take advantage of her looks. And after all, wasn't she as much a Filipino as she was a Negress?

Suddenly, Mariana felt that the cage in which she had lived for five years had been opened. She felt free and, somehow, exhilaratingly happy. Her early childhood days, like a dream forgotten and suddenly remembered, flashed through her mind. She recalled that she used to play with other Filipino children under her *nipa* house in the Philippines. She also remembered the years she had spent in San Francisco and Chicago where her friends were of different races and nationalities. Mentally she stretched herself and prepared to test her new freedom.

The light of admiration in Juan's eyes added confidence to Mariana's newer self. She must have kept up her end of the chatter while her mind had been occupied for he did not act as if anything was amiss.

"Shall we take in a dance after this? The night is still young." Juan was speaking.

Mariana caught her breath. Here was a test indeed! To mingle with other people, to dance with them—could she carry it off?

"I'd love to," she replied, "but where?"

"There's a dance hall ten miles from here where the Mexicans dance on Sundays."

"All right. Let's go."

In Juan's auto later, Mariana talked rapidly. She tried not to think of the ordeal to come. That would only make her more nervous. So she rambled on, talking in Tagalog the native language which she found she had not forgotten.

Finally they arrived. Cars surrounded the barn-like hall. The exotic strains of a Mexican orchestra came out to them as they parked their car in the wide enclosure. Mariana's heart was in a panic. All the fear she had tried to repress on their way over came surging to the surface. She paused a moment with a pretence of powdering her nose to quiet the nervous quivering of her knees. She looked at her reflection in the mirror of her compact to reassure herself that she looked all right. Then with a defiant tilt to her chin and a laugh on her lips, she tripped gaily inside.

Nothing happened. Nobody shouted insults at her. The girl at the cashier's window barely glanced at her as Juan paid the admission. The men about her and leaning against the railing, looked eagerly at her as any bunch of stags would in the hope of obtaining a dance.

"Ay, que linda!" she heard some one whisper. She had picked up enough Spanish to understand what that meant. The man had said she was pretty. Some of the tightness about Mariana's heart relaxed. The orchestra started off and Juan guided her onto the floor. He danced divinely and Mariana followed him naturally, answering to the pressure of his arm with light grace.

All too soon the dance ended. Juan found a seat for her between two girls on the long bench against the wall. He stood near by and they conversed in Tagalog. Two Mexicans stood in front of her but Mariana paid no attention to them. They must be friends of some of the other girls, she thought.

Just then the music started. Both boys held their right arms, elbows bent, toward her at the same time murmuring something that sounded like *"Por favor, Senorita?"* Mariana gasped and turned to Juan.

"What are they saying?"

"They are asking for a dance."

That would be fun, she thought, but —"should I?" she asked.

"Well—if you like."

Mariana placed her fingers on the arm of the taller one who led her triumphantly away. He was, if anything, a better dancer than Juan. His steps were long and graceful.

"You are a Filipino girl?" he asked in stilted English.

"How do you know?"

"Your friend, he's Filipino. I know. You look like him, too, and you talk different language."

"Yes." It was exhilarating, this wine of victory. Mariana drank deeply of it. She had won! Now she could go anywhere like other people and not feel inferior——.

Several hours passed, hours brimful of joy and fun. She danced with other Mexicans after that and with Juan quite often. He hovered protectingly near her and she was glad for his presence.

On their way home Mariana looked at Juan with new eyes. There was something glamourous and thrilling about him. He had come to Phoenix three weeks before—a contractor with boys to harvest cantaloupes. She had seen and talked with him as she did with other Filipino boys. But she had never paid much attention to them. Her gang, her circle of friends, were Negroes. Filipinoes had no place in her scheme of things. Several times before some Filipinos had asked to

take her out but she had always refused. That night she had gone with Juan in a spirit of fun and now she was glad.

New worlds had opened before her. She was grateful to Juan for it. He was no longer just a farm worker. He became embodied in her eyes with all that was romantic and thrilling. So when he took her in his arms on the front steps of her home and kissed her, she did not resist.

THE next night Earl called to take her to the movies. Earl was her "steady," a Negro. Not that there was any definite agreement between them, but he was the one who took her to dances and shows and treated her to dinner once in a while. And he it was on whose lap she sat in the overcrowded car when the gang went for a joy ride.

Mariana had always been rather fond and proud of Earl. He was nice looking in a brown skin way, tall, slender, with a thin face offset by merry eyes and a most engaging smile. To top it all he was attending the Junior College and was to become a lawyer some day.

Yes, Mariana was proud of Earl. But that night, when the flippant white usherette shooed them to the balcony, to that part at the top known as "Nigger Heaven," Mariana had a change of feeling. Earl was all right; he couldn't help it that people of other races treated him as if he were dirt. But she was not going to stand for such things any more. She expected better things of life than that.

Mariana did not mention her thoughts to Earl. But she feigned a headache when he suggested an after-theatre supper and made him take her home.

Thus began a new existence for Mariana. She went out quite often with Juan, revelling in the freedom she had found. Each night with him was certain to bring new thrills, new adventures in a world from which she had been shut off so long.

Earl called up quite often. He did not understand Mariana at all. He did not know, or pretended not to know, the double life she led. Once in a while Mariana consented to go out with him for old times sake but her thoughts were for Juan.

Mariana's father noticed her interest in Juan and was afraid. Juan had little or no education or money. He worked in the fields for his livelihood. Mariana would lose quite a lot if she married him. Her father realized the seriousness of the situation. He knew that Mariana was attracted to Juan by the lure of new and stolen adventures. Yet, being wise, he said not a word of his fears.

But he began inviting Juan to dinner with the family, bringing up questions and discussions on history, literature, politics. Earl could always be depended upon to say something worthwhile on any of these topics but Juan only looked blank. The father suppressed a smile of satisfaction.

However, his work seemed all in vain. Mariana was blind to everything except how romantic Juan was. Did he not play the banjo and guitar, captivating her afresh? Her father suffered, but could only sit helplessly by and look on. This could not go on forever. Something was bound to happen soon.

And it did. At the end of the cantaloupe season, Juan proposed to Mariana.

"Oh, no." She was startled.

"Why not? I love you and I thought you loved me, too. Don't you?"

"Y-yes."

"Then there's nothing to prevent us. We could get married now and go to California for the cantaloupe season—"

"But I don't want to get married yet, I want to finish school."

"Then you care more for school than you do for me."

"No—Wait, let me think! I'll let you know tomorrow night at the party."

All that night Mariana turned and tossed sleeplessly. She could not think clearly. Her thoughts went around and around in a dizzy whirl out of which came flashes: Juan playing a guitar and smiling at her in that charming way of his—sitting at the counter in the drug store with Juan eating pineapple sundae —finishing school and becoming a teacher—sitting in "Nigger Heaven" at the movies with Earl—to be the wife of a Filipino farm laborer or of a Negro lawyer——

When at last she fell into an exhausted sleep toward morning, she had not yet made up her mind although the balances of the scales weighed heavier in Juan's favor.

The next day Earl called up. "Hello, Mariana. Are you coming to the moonlight picnic with the gang, tonight?"

She wondered why she had never noticed before that Earl could not pronounce her name correctly. He spoke it so awkwardly.

"I can't Earl. I have a date."

"What's the matter, Baby? You don't run around with our gang like you used to."

"Now listen here, Earl, I do too."

"No you don't."

"I do too."

"Well, come tonight. I'll drop by and get you."

"How many times must I tell you that I have a date?"

"Oh, Mariana! Don't you know how I feel about you? Don't you know that I—well, listen here: If you change your mind call me up, won't you?"

"All right, Earl."

Mariana felt sorry for Earl. He was so devoted to her. He thought that there was no one else in the world so wonderful as she. But she had made up her mind to marry Juan so she cast the feeling aside. There was no one so wonderful, so much the Prince Charming, as Juan.

When Juan came that evening, Mariana was not quite ready. She had only to put on her dress and a few finishing touches of rouge. Every one else was gone so she opened the door herself. Two other boys were with him. After the introductions were over and they were seated, Mariana started to excuse herself to finish dressing. But one of them spoke up.

"I haven't seen a Filipino girl in a long time. Gee, it's good to see one; makes me think of home."

"Yes?" Mariana smiled.

"By the way, what part of the Islands were you from?"

"Batangas."

"Then you're a Tagala."

"No-o."

"You see she's not a full-blooded Filipino," Juan explained, "she's a *mestiza ng etim* (black mestiza). Her father is a Negro."

"Oh." The other's voice was suddenly cool.

"But, of course, Negroes are a nice people," Juan was saying, "I like them better than some other races. Many people do not like Negroes but I——"

Mariana's brain grew numb. There was something about Juan's tone, something about the quickness with which he defended colored people that hurt her to the quick. It was as if he was apologizing for her, as if he was trying to convince himself as well as these other boys, that she was all right despite her Negro blood. Was he ashamed of her, she whom Earl considered the height of perfection?

Suddenly Mariana laughed aloud. The men looked at her in surprise but she laughed on—a brain-clearing, dream-routing laugh. Then she excused herself and, going to the phone in the dining room, dialed Earl's number.

"Earl, this is Mariana. Are you still willing to take me to the picnic?"

"Of course, Mariana!" (Gee, it was good to hear his pleasant voice again, to feel the eagerness that throbbed as he called her name.)

"Then call for me in half an hour. Juan is still here but I'll pretend to have a headache and get rid of him."

"Great!"

"And listen, Earl. You can have all my dates from now on—always."

The Negro in Greek Mythology

By BENJ. N. AZIKIWE

HISTORIANS of consequence have used the history of Greece as a criterion for judging other peoples. So potent has been the glorification of Greece that persons who are regarded as "intelligent" and "learned" have been swept away by this delusion. The province of this subject admits of no inquiry into the origin or diffusion of Greek culture. One thing is certain: Appraisers of Greek culture are mostly untrained in the modern methodology of cultural anthropology. They exhibit an ignorance of the nature of culture, its origins, variations, changes and consequences. "Not only is culture a unique heritage of man," posits Professor W. O. Brown of the University of Cincinnati, "but it is a possession of all men. Culture is now, and, in so far as we can trace human history, has always been, universal. No people known, past or present, is culturally naked . . . Not only is culture universal, but all cultures seem to possess certain common essentials" (Cf. G. A. Hedger, *An Introduction to Western Civilization* (1931), page 53).

The Greeks were cultured. So also were other nations. Descendants and lovers of "the glory that was Greece" have apotheosized their pet subject without regard to the influence of the Egyptians, Ethiopians, Mesopotamians and Phoenicians. Without borrowing from others there would have been no Greece. This is not a vain talk. According to the English scholar, E. B. Tylor, "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities acquired by man as a member of society" constitutes culture. I want to discuss a phase of Greek culture, namely, mythology and race.

It is obvious that the term "Negro" is relatively recent in human history. Perhaps, there are persons whose morphology and anthropometry are Negroid, but such racial traits are not necessarily constant. They are variable. Blackness of skin and hair seem to be the only constants. Texture of hair, nasal index, cephalic index, and other "silly abstractions" of somatology are interchangeable in the human race. An albinoid may have a platyrrhine nose. A Negroid may be straight-haired. A galbinoid may be dolichocephalic. These traits are not indices for "scientific" conclusion although one admits the weight of preponderance of certain traits in particular "races." Modern ethnology may be dismissed as an attempt to reconcile socio-legal concepts by a scientific methodology in order to crystallize a rationalization of myths. True, ethnology is scientific in its approach and objective, but some of its worshippers have transformed it into a fetish cult.

The term "Negro" is probably the Castilian equivalent of the Latin "niger." Spanish and Portuguese slave-traffickers called Africans "moors." Later they were regarded as "los nigros." However, before the fifteenth century a person with a sable hue was known either as an Aethiopian, Phutite or Cushite. Herodotus extended it to include the Aegyptians. Some of the Greek writers used "melas" and regarded the blacks as "the tallest and handsomest men in the whole world." (Herodotus, III, 20). These writers of antiquity studied man as a human being. They respected the physical characteristics of man. A black man could enslave and rule a white, yellow, green or blue man and *vice versa*. The Hebrews were taught this lesson in the sacred writings (*Numbers*, xii, 1–16).

WITH all due deference to my colleagues and superiors, I hereby postulate the thesis that in Greek mythology, the Negro was regarded as a *superman*. Throughout the *uncensored* editions of the Greek and Latin classics, there is a marked tendency to diefy the Negro and to dramatize him as a force of nature, or a standard of beauty. These descriptives were also followed and copied by some of the Roman *literati*, chiefly, Virgil, Catullus and Tibullus.

Mythology is a by-product of ethnography. It is a social function directed to various social ends. It aids to weave into one fabric, imperfectly though it may be, the lore of a particular society—its history, its customs, its emotional tendencies, and its social philosophy. Greek mythology may or may not connote definite historical facts. But one discovers a wealth of data on social processes which serve as an index to the stream of human emotionalism involved. To an extent it is a definition of the code of social behavior which guided the Greeks in their social adjustment. It may deal also with the personification of abstract thoughts, uttered by word of mouth or written, dramatized by anthropomorphic animals, or humans, or superhumans. Its range of action may be terrestrial, subterranean, aquatic, submarine or celestial. Its nature may be cosmological or it may be a social means to establish a standard for the conventionalization of human activities. From whatever point one views mythology, it should be regarded always as "the science of vestigial opinions" (J. W. Powell, *American Anthropologist*, vol. II, pp. 1–36).

According to Franz Boas, mythology is "an insight into the inner life" of man (Cf. A. D. Helser, *African Stories* (1930), page 8). Bronislaw Malinowski defines it as "a cultural force . . . Myth contains germs of the future epic, romance, and tragedy; and it has been used in them by the creative genius of peoples and by the conscious art of civilization . . . The function of myth, briefly is to strengthen tradition and endow it with a greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, more supernatural reality of initial events . . . every historical change creates its mythology, which is, however, but indirectly related to historical fact. Myth is a constant by-product of living faith . . ." (Cf. Malinowski, *Myth in Primitive Psychology* (1926), pages 87–92 *passim*). A sustention of this point of view is also evident when A. Radcliffe Brown concluded that "Modern folkloristic study . . . is founding itself upon the importance of folklore as a social phenomenon and a means of expression by a social group of its own attitudes and cultural life" (Cf. *The Andaman Islanders* (1922), page 234).

Herodotus, the originator of the science of history, vindicates the theory of the functional school in anthropology with reference to the role of mythology in society. After visiting Egypt, he described Ethiopians as "taller, handsomer, and longer lived than anywhere else" (Herodotus, III, 114, tr. Rawlinson). Among Greek writers, e.g., Pindar (*Isthmian, Nemean, Olympian* and *Pythian Odes*), Pausanias (*Description of Greece*, V. vols.), Philostratus (*Life of Apollonius of Tyana*), Homer (*Iliad, Odyssey*), Aeschylus (*Prometheus Bound*), it is noticeable that the trend is to apotheosize the "blameless Aethopians" who lived and dined and feasted with Zeus at Olympus (Cf. *Iliad*, I, 423).

TWO names are familiar to students of classical mythology. They are Memnon and Medea. In the writings of my authorities, Memnon is depicted either as a superman, or a god, or a king. The story of Achilles dragging the corpse of Hector in the walls of Troy is well known. The following are descriptions of Memnon who went to the aid of Priamus: "the over-weening might of Memnon" (*Isthmian Odes,* VIII, 54); "Memnon, the son of Eos" (*Olympian Odes,* II, 83); "Memnon, son of Tithonus and Eos, King of the Aethopians" (*Nemean Odes,* III, 63; *Isthmian Odes,* V, 41; *ibid.,* VIII, 58); "Awaiting the onslaught of Memnon, the leader of the Aethopians" (*Pythian Odes,* VI, 32); "the sacred inclosure of Memnon," "the son of Aurora" (Philostratus, VI, 4).

Latin writers of Greek mythology say of Memnon thus: Vulcan made "black Memnon's armor" (Virgil, *Aeneid,* I, 489); "the own brother of Aethopian Memnon appeared, striking the air with waving wings . . . And he, sweeping me away, flies through the airs of heaven, and places me in the holy bosom of Venus" (Cf. "The Lock of Berenice" in Catullus, LXVI, 51–56). Even John Milton in his poems used the theme of Greek mythology with literacy effects. He glorified the sable color of the Negro as "staid Wisdom's hue." Then he referred to "Prince Memnon's sister . . . . Or that starred Ethiop queen." Memnon's sister was Hemera (Cf. Dictys Cretensis, *De Bello Trojano,* VI, 10). "That starred Ethiop queen" was Cassiopeo who boasted of her beauty and caused the Nereids to become jealous. They sent the sea dragon to kill Andromeda, her daughter. Perseus, the culture-hero of Greek mythology, slew the dragon and rescued Andromeda. Cassiopea was finally transformed into a star in heaven where she still lingers. (Cf. Milton, *Il Penseroso,* 11–22; Homer, *Odyssey,* XI, 522).

Medea is another superhuman in Greek mythology. She is daughter of Aetes and Queen of the Colchians. She prophesied that "From this wave-washed land of Thera, the daughter of Epaphus (Libya), will, in days to come, find planted in her a root of cities that shall be fostered of men near the foundations of Zeus" (*Pythian Odes,* IV, 18-23). She enabled Jason to achieve the highest ambition of every Greek hero, that is, to travel from the land of Pelias, sail the *Argo* over distant lands, and through Scylla and Charybdis, and secure the Golden Fleece. Jason with his band of heroes, called the Argonauts, aided by Orpheus, and guided by his tutor, Cheiron—the centaur, finally arrived at Colchis where he waged war "with the swarthy Colchians" (*Pythian Odes,* IV, 215), and finally married Medea. She aided to realize his dreams ever since he arrived in the realm of Pelias with one sandal.

Her love for Jason made her to commit several misdeeds. According to Virgil, "Ruthless love taught a mother (Medea) to stain her hands in her children's blood; cruel, too, was thou, O mother. Was the mother more cruel, or that boy more heartless? Heartless was he; cruel, too, was thou, O mother!" (*Eclogues,* VIII, 47-50; see also Virgil, *Culex,* 249, and Tibullus, I, ii, 51-52). There is no doubt that Colchis was the scene of heroic deeds in the days of old. It was not only the scene where Perseus slew the sea dragon and rescued Andromeda, it was also near the scene of the rock where Prometheus was chained to die. It was the land of the Amazons—"the maidens fearless in fight." (Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound,* 415).

Who are these Colchians? Why are they so important in Greek mythology? The answer is simple. They are Negroes. An early authority says: "The Colchians are an Egyptian race . . . *They are black-skinned and have woolly hair,* which certainly amounts to but little, since several other nations are so too . . ." (Herodotus, II, 104, tr. Rawlinson. See also Loeb Classical Library edition of Herodotus, tr. by Godley, which is in accord with the version of Rawlinson. In Henry Cary's translation (Harper and Brothers, New York: 1867), it reads: "The Colchians were evidently Egyptians . . . they are swarthy and curly-headed . . . ") !!

Far be it from me to make categorical conclusions. So far the task has just begun. The writings of Pindar, Philostratus, Pausanias, Homer, Aeschylus, Virgil, Catullus, Tibullus, present to the student of classical languages with a foundation for extensive and intensive research. In all fairness to unadulterated scholarship, my thesis has been proved. According to my authorities, and these names are eminent in the domain of Greek and Roman literature, it is true that the Negro was "blameless." He dined and feasted with the gods. He was the son of Aurora, the son of Eos, the son of the Morning. He dwelt at the Table of the Sun which smiled upon his countenance to give him a sable hue. Virgil says: "Near Ocean's bound and the setting sun lies Ethiopia, farthest of lands, where mightiest Atlas on his shoulders turns the sphere, inset with gleaming stars" (Aeneid, IV, 480-482). We who are descendants of "the longest lived of men" (Philostratus, VI, 4), may sing of the glory that was Greece, or the grandeur that was Rome, but should not leave unsung the lore and majesty that were Ethiopia in the brave days of yore.

ANTI-LYNCH BILL
Wire Your Congressman!

HEARINGS on the Costigan-Wagner anti-lynching bill, known as S. 1978, will begin February 20 before the sub-committee of the Senate judiciary committee. Senator Frederick Van Nuys of Indiana is the chairman of the sub-committee. The same bill has been introduced in the House by Congressman Thomas F. Ford of California.

The bill is being supported and endorsed by many individuals and organizations, of both races and from all sections of the country. Representatives of 1,000,000 southern white women meeting January 9, 1934, in Atlanta declared:

> "We re-affirm our condemnation of lynching for any reason whatsoever and we recognize that no alleged crime justifies another crime."

and called upon President Roosevelt to act with the States to suppress lynching.

President Roosevelt himself in his message to Congress January 3, in speaking of lynching and other crimes, said:

> "These . . . call upon the strong arm of government for their immediate suppression."

The Atlanta *Constitution* has written editorially:

> "A law making lynching a national offense would undoubtedly have a strong deterrent effect upon those inclined to place the authority of the mob above the courts."

while the *Herald Post* of El Paso has declared:

> "Just as it took the federal government to make effective war on kidnapers so it is necessary to invoke federal power to stop lynching."

The Costigan-Wagner bill provides for punishment of state or local officers failing to protect prisoners; provides for punishment of state officers guilty of conspiring with mobs or permitting prisoners to be taken; gives federal courts jurisdiction to try and punish where state officers have failed to act; fines lynching counties $10,000 for lynch victims' relatives.

Write now to your senators and congressmen urging them to vote for the bill when it comes to vote. Contribute what you can immediately to the Association's $5000 anti-lynching lobby fund.

I Attended the N. S. L. Conference

By PRESTON VALIEN

LATE in the afternoon of December 23, I boarded a train for the long ride from Texas to Washington, D. C., to attend the Third Annual Conference of the National Student League. During those three nights and two days of riding I had many opportunities to wonder just what trend the meeting would take; for the National Student League, after two years of vigorous leadership in campus struggles throughout the county was convening for the first time with the purpose of coordinating its activities to facilitate work among Negro students, particularly in the South.

Christmas night I arrived in Washington, D. C., where the cold climate presented a different setting from that of the Sunny South. Its cold reception was no different as several Negro delegates were refused accommodations at one of the Capitol City's fashionable hotels whereupon the entire white delegation walked out. I could see that this was going to be an interesting conference for it seemed that Mr. Jim Crow had accompanied me to the East.

I spent the night at the home of friends and the next morning I went to Andrew Rankin Memorial Chapel to register for the conference. As I walked into the historic chapel I found a gathering of 400 students of whom approximately 50 were Negroes. The scene was not inharmonious for where three Sundays before the Howard University Choir had sung, "He was Despised and Rejected" and "Why do the Nations so furiously Rage Together" from Handel's "Messiah" there were now posters against racial discrimination and against imperialistic war.

After the major portion of registration had been completed the opening address was delivered by Edmund Stevens, Executive Secretary. This was followed by a welcome address by Dr. Johnson, who is head of the English Department at Howard University. The next part of the morning was spent in organization affairs such as the election of committees. After the completion of this business Adam Lapin, Editor of the League's publication—*The Student Review*—addressed the group on its new national plan. Extracts from his speech follow:

"In addition to sharing the general problems of the American student body the Negro student has particular and special problems. There is the shocking state of Negro education. . . .

"The National Student League feels that the road to the solidarity of the student body, Negro and white, lies in struggle on the particular and special problems of the Negro student. White students must take the initiative in fighting against every trace of racial discrimination in the colleges.

"There are other problems that face the American student. But it will readily appear that the three most important and most significant are the three that we have discussed: The problems of war, of retrenchment, and of Negro discrimination. The National Student League feels that its activities will have to be coordinated accordingly if its activities are to be successful during the coming year. At this convention, we will have to devote most of our time to the working out of a coordinated plan of activities on these issues on a national scale. . . .

"After this interpretation of the national plan, the group repaired to the Howard University dining hall where lunch was served. The Negro and white delegates ate together and kept a running fire of light conversation—'and the Heavens didn't fall.'"

During the afternoon the past activities against imperialistic war were reviewed by Maurice Gates, Negro student at Miner Normal School, Washington, D. C. In many instances militant actions against war preparation had been exercised. After this review, plans were laid for the continuance of the anti-war fight.

That night the student publication came in for some heated discussion as to its financial and editorial policy. Theodore Draper, associate editor of the *Student Review*, embarrassed the Chicago delegates by relating how they had sold all the *Student Reviews* he had mailed them but had notified him that they were not going to send the money for they had other expenses and *they asked for more Student Reviews!* This reminded me of some of the high handed tactics used on the Southern Negro tenant farmers. However, the session adjourned in harmony.

THE morning of the 27th the conference convened at 10 o'clock. A report on retrenchment in education was given. In this report an interesting point arose whereby it was debated whether or not the National Student League should organize an Alumni branch for former members who had been graduated from the various colleges. It was pointed out that these individuals would often occupy positions of influence whereby they could campaign and vote against politicians and laws which would limit or restrict free education. After much debate this was not passed for it was feared that persons outside of the schools might come to control the National Student League as was the case in some other student organizations, namely the League for Industrial Democracy. After this it was time for the pleasant lunch intermission at the Howard University dining hall. In the meantime, I, being steeped in my Southern conservativeness, was marvelling at the progressiveness of these students. However, I soon ceased to marvel under the influence of the tasteful repast and pleasant meal time chatter of the delegates.

At two o'clock that afternoon the part of the conference which I had long waited for commenced. This was the Negro Students' Problems report and discussion. The report was given by a Negro girl named Gladys Stone. We were then formed into four groups; namely, the Negro student in the mixed schools, the Negro student in the segregated schools, the Negro student and war, and the Negro student retrenchment. I connected myself with the second group and was not surprised when I found that the entire time of the group was spent in trying to understand the Southern Negro student's situation. It was very comical—later, not then however—to hear these northern white students discussing the Southern Negro student as they had visualized him in their minds. It then became my duty to give the true Southern Negro student's background as I believed that I had seen it. Later the Chairman appointed a resolution committee to draw up the things which it was felt that the National Student League should do about this phase of student life.

We then went to the dining hall where some incidents occurred which brought out the universality of some of the phases of student life; namely:

1. A waiter dropped a tray of food and set up a familiar (to me) commotion among the students.
2. I saw students trading dishes which they did not like for those they liked.
3. Two of the boys sitting at the same table were pilfering bowls of pie amid the laughter of their tablemates everytime the waiter turned his back.

At 6:15 P. M. we returned to the chapel where the various resolutions

concerning the Negro student were submitted and approved.

The symposium on lynching which had been moved from the night before was then announced. The first speaker was Dean Kelly Miller of Howard University. Dean Miller said: ". . . America is the most lawless of all civilized people . . . If this nation does not destroy lawlessness it will destroy this nation . . . Lynching is a moral malady and reflects a bad conscience . . . We must shame Americans out of this practice by appealing to their conscience."

Dean Miller was followed by Mr. Richard B. Moore, General Secretary for the League of Struggle for Negro Rights, who bitterly attacked Dean Miller for his pacifist attitude. He pointed out that there have been sermons against lynching for the past 157 years, yet it took a President that long to say that it is murder, and that we are not satisfied with preaching against it. The speaker then went on to point out the collusion between the law and the lynchers in the various lynchings which have recently occurred. He was followed by Professor Donald Henderson, formerly of Columbia University, who stressed the importance of the Negro student in the work of the League.

THE symposium was cut short because of a dance which was to be held that night. There was some conflict in another conference about whether the Negro students of that conference should attend the conference's dance, but such conflict did not exist in the National Student League Conference. The Masonic Temple vibrated to the dancing of all the student delegates that night.

On the next morning the conference held a demonstration against the R. O. T. C. and war preparations. A delegation held a conference with one of the President's secretaries where the League's attitude on war preparation was stated.

On returning to the Chapel the foreign work of the League was reviewed and outlined. A report was also received from the high school section. At this time a very important announcement was made. This was that the League's request that some of its members be permitted to meet with the League for Industrial Democracy had been granted.

That night Annie Steckler of Howard University delivered a vigorous lecture on the organization. Following this, resolutions and plans were adopted, a staff of officers were selected and the conference closed with the concluding remarks by Donald Henderson.

So ended a conference whose power rests in its potentialities. It is too early to state what the effect of the inclusion of Southern Negro students in the League will be on the League as well as the students. But it does not seem too soon to state that the work of a unified student body will be more effective than the work of a part of the student body. The League is committed against war preparation, limitation of educational opportunities, and racial discrimination. The fight has just begun. Its continuation will depend in a large measure upon the support which Negro students give the League. In the light of this it is interesting to watch what the results shall be.

Negro Students Superior

By MONROE SWEETLAND

"NEGRO COLLEGE RADICALS," an interesting survey in the February CRISIS, awaited me this week upon my return from a tour on behalf of the Student League for Industrial Democracy through the colleges of Tennessee, North Carolina and Virginia. Lately I have become accustomed to surprises, generally pleasant ones, in THE CRISIS, but this one amazed me. "Some people profess to believe there is a great wave of radicalism sweeping the Negro colleges. Nothing could be farther from the truth . . . Negro college students are not radical; they are reactionary . . . (the) faculty set-up is even years behind the New Deal."

I am not alleging that the Negro student in the Southern colleges is aflame with social revolution—certainly they must move far to assert so much intelligence. But the only fair measure of their progress is by reference to what they thought and did a few months and years ago, and by comparison with the advance among their white student contemporaries. As I visited thirty colleges and universities last month I never ceased being surprised at the intelligent questions, based on real understanding of the social and economic forces at work in the world, raised by the Negro students. They are reading, they are questioning, they are thinking. In only three of the many white institutions which I visited (University of Tennessee, Atlantic Christian College, and the University of Virginia) did I find any semblance of analogous advance among white students. In every Negro college the alert faculty members, most of them young men, were not New Deal partisans, as alleged. They were, in instance after instance, responsible for the fundamental thinking and readiness for action displayed by their students.

Student strikes have been prevalent nowhere as much as among Negro student bodies. Unwillingness to kowtow to patronizing white "missionaries" has been nowhere so pronounced as among the students of the race, who seem to be quite through with those banes of real progress. Southern students of both races, it was alleged, are far less mature than students in the average Northern or Western college. That statement is only true of the white students, but among the Negro students of the South there is a new spirit of revolt—a spirit which is not matched by anything I have seen among Negro students in the North. At Fisk, at Knoxville College, at Virginia State, at Virginia Union, at North Carolina State, the same good news may be verified. Whatever may have been the smugness and subjectivity of other student generations, this one is characterized by a rapidly growing group of intelligent and inquiring students. Their growth is being fostered by a few faculty members who are searching for effectual means of supplanting our present social and economic system with one which will function in the interest of the great mass of producers, to which even the student elements of their race belong. It is correct to say The Revolution will not be tomorrow if it depends upon the Negro student, nor, may I add, upon any other group of American youth, but insofar as students are moving toward a new day, let no one tell you the Southern Negro student lags.

In the April issue we hope to have an article by Mr. Frederick Weaver, who covered the now famous student conferences in Washington. Mr. Weaver was there in the interest of the Baltimore Afro-American. *In addition,* THE CRISIS is asking letters and *short articles on the Negro college student, particularly in the light of the present-day economic situation.*

Behind the Scenes at Geneva

By SYDNEY STRONG

I SPENT two years in Geneva—from September 1931 to September 1933. During that period, I came back to America for a month and for another month went into Moscow. My sojourn in Geneva was for the entire purpose of observing the work of the League and of the Conference for the Reduction of Armaments. I came and went at my own charges. I sent out mimeograph letters to 500 people—not omitting the President and Prime Minister—these letters being printed in *Unity* and some of them going into papers in India, Canada, Australia and the uttermost parts of the world! Some people wrote me that these letters were the "best peace material of the year printed anywhere" while others declared that I was "as bad as the *Chicago Tribune!*" I may say that I was conscious of having no motive but to ascertain the facts. I had the run of the press gallery. I probably attended more committee meetings than any single representative to the League or Conference.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. This is the creature of the Versailles Treaty. It was created for carrying out the provisions of that Treaty. One has only to look at a map of the World to see a piece of international surgery: How the victorious, robber nations divided up the plunder, from Paris and London to the tiny islands of the Pacific, including of course huge chunks of Africa and Asia. The work of the League is that of an executor, who is also chief inheritor of the vast estate! I was often reminded of a remark of Dr. DuBois, made 20 years ago, that the chief cause of the European War of 1914 *was the exploitation of Africa.*

There are two wings to the League, the "Secretariat" and the "Labor" wing. There are about a thousand employees, half in each wing. The "Secretariat" is the important part—holds the purse-strings and dominates the policy for ruling the world. The Council, appointed by the Assembly, that meets once a year, is the Executive Committee (the "Cabinet") in which action rises and sets. This Council has 15 members, representing as many nations. There are three (were five) *permanent* members, nations with the longest purse and biggest navies. The other ten members are from nations that are represented in rotation every dozen years or so! It is easy to see that the *permanent* members that sit at the head of the table, so they can touch toes—will control all action. And, *they do.* The Council is clearly an autocratic board of inherited privilege, and what is worse seeking to run the world, while careful that the interests of Britain, France and Italy shall not suffer! No wonder that the two or three "big" powers insist on being *permanent.* No wonder that Britain wants to get *one* thing out of the Disarmament Conference (watch this) namely, the creation of a *Permanent* Disarmament Commission, which would mean practically a *Pax Britannica* for the world for a generation or more—a plan that should be defeated.

Here are a few samples of the work of the Council that I observed—sitting within ten feet of that body:

IRAQ. This is my old Mesopotamia, where the "wise men" followed the star across the desert. Now it is noted for its oil wells. Since Iraq was on the wrong side in the great Slaughter of 1914, it was decided that she could not rule herself, and so, must come under the head of Mandate "A". She was put in charge of Britain, as the nation best fitted to guide her footsteps. This was to last for 25 years. But, Britain did her task so well, that Iraq was deemed fit earlier to come to independence! The Council saw that this was carried through, and after "investigation" Iraq was welcomed one day in 1933 into the circle of the Nations of the League. One does not need to be cynical, only an observer, to note that Iraq forms an important link between Palestine and the Persian Gulf, so that British planes may fly direct to India from the Mediterranean over land practically British; over Iraq, independent, and having contracted agreements as to concessions and policing, exclusively advantageous to Britain. It is not surprising that the day after the announcement of the independence of Iraq London newspapers announced the organization of a British Oil Company in Iraq. Hence Mandates, hence the mission of the Council of the League!

PERSIA. It was suddenly announced one morning that Persia expected to annul her contract with Britain—again, the matter was over oil. Eden, one of Britain's "rising statesmen" (to me an unprogressive imperialist) spoke out from London, that Persia would be given three days to change her mind. Meantime, some British gun-boats in the Gulf were firing up. "Case for the League", said Geneva. After a few months of "investigation" and much journeying, I felt certain that Britain, who had publicly blustered and who dominates the Council was not dissatisfied with the findings.

THE LONDON ECONOMIC CONFERENCE. This was one of the grand international fiascos of the year 1933. I saw it initiated in the Council of the League. Of course, such an idea had been long simmering. It came suddenly to light. John Simon is chairman of the important finance (note) committee of the League. One day, a few months before the London Conference, he moved that a World Economic Conference be called, it "being understood" (1) that said Conference should be held in *London* (2) that the Prime Minister of Britain should act as its *President* (3) that the chairman of the finance committee of the Council should be chairman of the agenda committee of the London Conference. I am unable to recall any important position in the proposed Conference overlooked, as suitable for a Briton to occupy. And, when the London Conference went to chaos, Simon was the first to run away. He took a "health trip" to Brazil.

LIBERIA. Several times the problem of Liberia came before the Council—this *real estate board,* handling all kinds of lands in all lands, specializing in oil, rubber, and coffee; selling the peoples with the transfer of titles. I confess that I do not "know the truth about Liberia." When the question of Liberia came up, there was confusion between British and American "interests." I was certain that the British "interests" would be cared for, since Lord Cecil was chairman of the Council's Committee on Liberia. "Rubber" was the word in Liberia as "Oil" was the word in Persia. The Firestone interests were often mentioned; and these seemed to conflict with the British interests. It should be noted here that Cecil, while representing Britain on the Council, when Liberia and Iraq come up is also easily the dominant head of the peace propaganda for the

English-speaking world, and this includes America. It means that 75 per cent of the news that is printed in American papers, and of the "sentiment" that comes from American churches and other organizations—to influence Geneva to "act" originates from sources in Geneva and London that are controlled by Cecil and his staff! Very little "peace propaganda" that comes to Geneva or goes out—that is not so controlled. You will note that hardly ever is blame attached to Britain—in our American papers—for delays, for "throwing the switch"—but nearly always as playing the part of peace-maker and good neighbor. In the matter of Liberia, America was generally found at fault, except when found in agreement with the Committee of the Council. There appeared to be an attitude of jealousy over affairs partly American.

JAPAN. The world knows the story of the tragedy in the Far East. I saw it as enacted at Geneva, for months. I saw Sato of Japan as he sat next to Simon. I heard Yen, pointing at the clock, "In one hour bombs will be falling on Shanghai." Such side-stepping—not only by Japan, but by England and France who had it in their power to stop the strife! It got to be clear to all observers at Geneva that the Council displayed a strange ineptitude, with a fatal habit of delay in trying to put out a conflagration that threatened the world. The Council, I mean, the two or three dominating powers, instead of being a peace-maker in the Far East, was an irritating aggravation, and I fear still is.

THE CONFERENCE FOR THE REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS. This has been going on now for exactly two years. It is the same story as with the other institution, the League of Nations. Britain has had it in her hands to bring about disarmament. President Henderson, Secretary-General Drummond and First Orator Simon are all Britons. She has defeated every concrete proposition brought forward, and yet she has advertised herself as a saviour of bad situations, as a harmonizer between France and Italy; or between France and Germany. The contrary has been true. Long over six months ago, Prime Minister Ramsey MacDonald offered a Plan of Disarmament. It was presented with the usual evangelistic fervor. As a matter of fact it was a bad and ambiguous plan. It provided practically for arranging matters only among the nations of Europe, but no disarmament for Britain. This plan, modified a little, may come back. It is now being carried around in the pocket of Arthur Henderson, an Englishman,—at his request!—while the nations are languishing in fear and hate.

Two years ago—in February—it looked as if a Great Peace was to be born on earth at Geneva. The Youth, the Women, the Workers from all parts of the world were expressing clearly their demands for peace. What a contrast between the atmosphere Then and Now! Then in successive stages came the Great Betrayal. The Christian forces in Geneva failed by relying on education and by turning politically minded. They played with the dogs of war! Weeks, months passed—and it was speeches—and, more speeches. Delays, subterfuges, deceptions. There were propositions—some of them promising. France, who was not the "villain", offered a plan, which provided for international control. It was worth a consideration not given it. Russia made a concrete proposal of total disarmament, followed by a second plan for definite reductions of a substantial nature, which in five years would lead up to total disarmament. Simon led the assault against this plan (tell us why?) and yet, it was the one plan that promised peace and good will. Had it been adopted, mankind would have been saved from tragic chapters of recent history, and, quite likely from a world catastrophe in days to come. Russia and Turkey were the only nations that stood four-square for this plan!

The Hoover Proposals brightened up the Geneva sky for a few weeks. They were definite and concrete and a look forward to more and completer disarmament. But, as usual, Britain did not fancy the plan. At any rate, there is no doubt that under the clever manipulation of Simon the Hoover Proposals were chloroformed and buried with faint praise. That day in July, 1932, will be remembered as the day when Germany left the Conference. Had the Hoover Proposals been made a basis for possible disarmament, Germany would have remained in the Conference and would have been saved, along with the world, from the situation, out of which has come another terrifying experience to mankind. The American Navy bill just passed is probably a repercussion. No doubt of it.

Since then the Conference has gone from bad to worse.

HERE are several conclusions:

1. Better no Disarmament Treaty than the one that Henderson has been carrying about in his pocket, the so-called British Proposals. In the first place these proposals do not provide for disarmament of the big powers, notably Britain. No disarmament is worth consideration that does not begin with the Big Powers.

2. Better adjourn and go home. Let other forces be working at it. These can do no worse. Appeal to the Women, the Workers, the Business Men. Give the Politicians a Rest.

3. Beware of a Bad Disarmament "agreement"—which will carry with it provision for a *permanent Disarmament Commission*. Such a Commission coupled with the Council of the League, performing the political function of world-control, would suit exactly such an imperial power as the British Empire. This may be the reason why British statesmen place such high value on Geneva and her institutions. There could be no better lever for Britain to move the world than the League, which was created by the brains that worked at Versailles!

There are several other things I learned at Geneva. I came to see that the most of the peace news carried in our American press as coming from Geneva comes from sources, dominated by a committee of which Cecil is chairman. He is British, an aristocrat and a product of the old order that acted at Versailles. He was chairman of the embargo committee! I came also to see that Britain is the dominant power at Geneva. No doubt of this. I could name page and paragraph for this. The crime of neglect and failure of Geneva must be laid at the door of Britain. America plays a very poor second fiddle. And more important than all I have said, I learned—it amounted to a discovery, and few believe it when told—I learned that it was impossible for nations to disarm as long as they possess the mind of believing in arms. It is psychologically impossible. I watched committee after committee try to come to an agreement on any specific kind of arms—poison gas, bombing from the air, submarines, bacteria—they would get so far in approach, but never to *agree* to *abolition*. So, I have returned from Geneva convinced that there is no compromise this side of complete abolition, that until nations, by example or collectively, take a direct road for Total Disarmament—practically immediate—it is idle to try for so-called reduction—as this will lead them deeper into the mire and fog—where they are now going.

As long as the will to arm is with the nations, there will be arms more and worse—there will be wars. If the nations have the will to disarm totally—as did the Quakers who went among the "savages"—a new hope will be born, and a way out found.

Let all the peoples pray for the Anglo-Saxon. With him today is the power of leadership. Pray that he may repent! Pray that he may lead to light and peace—not to darkness and destruction.

ALONG THE COLOR LINE

Hubert T. Delany, New York

AMERICA

Canton, Mississippi

An unreconstructed lady rebel and patriot rants in the daily press:

"I have read in recent issues of your paper a notice of the approaching visitation of one, James Weldon Johnson, to this state, and his lecture at Tugaloo. For the information of those who may be in ignorance of the record of this Negro, may I mention some high lights of his career? . . . It is true that he has been prominent in racial activities, but not the type of activity which would commend him as a local guest. . . . An agitator of this type is hardly good medicine for local Africa, but the very fact that such as he and Oscar DePriest can be permitted to enunciate their poison doctrines in Mississippi, even being advertised by the best southern newspapers, would make it appear that many traditions of other days have been sunk without trace."

War in the Spring

The radical papers are quoting a high official of the United States government as having addressed an Anti-War conference as follows:

"I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, I think there is going to be a war in the Spring. . . . The time has come when the United States will have to do some of the things Russia is doing if we expect to remain a capitalistic country."

Meanwhile, preparations for War go on at an astounding pace. Under the lash of the Jingo Press, Congress will doubtless pass the Vinson-Trammell bill which provides for an expenditure of millions on destroyers, airplane carriers, and the like. The American Navy will then cost $500,000,000 a year to keep up—about $4.25 for every man, woman, and child; black and white.

Eating With Negroes

A group of students from the white University of Tennessee have dared eat with Negro students from Knoxville College. The first meeting of the group was to hear a lecture on the Power Trust. The Deans, the President, and the *Knoxville Journal*, organ of the Great Electric Interests, have all seen red, but beyond that, nothing terrible has happened.

WORK, WASTE AND WEALTH

One Governor's Wife (See Cover)

Mrs. Gifford Pinchot, wife of the Governor of Pennsylvania, has been active for many weeks in behalf of groups of striking laundry workers in Brooklyn and New York City. She was also active in organizing picket lines in Pennsylvania as a protest against sweat-shops in the clothing industry. Evidence was produced to show that two of the biggest laundries which employ Negro labor were paying $6 and $7 a week instead of the minimum of $13.95. Mayor LaGuardia ordered the water shut off at both places. They were in arrears to the city more than $37,000 in meter rents.

Economy

The Senate investigations in the air-mail subsidies reveal that $20,000,000 a year were voted greedy owners of favored lines. To make this grant possible, postal clerks were cut 15 per cent and pilots had to go on strike for a living wage. Executives were paid as high as $1,000,000 a year.

Fifty Years

An interesting department of Negro business is the Mickey Funeral Service. In 1884, E. H. Mickey, a colored man of Charleston, South Carolina, connected with some of the old free Negroes of the city, established an undertaking business. This business has been carried on for fifty years and at present has not only the establishment on Cannon Street, Charleston, but also a branch establishment on Chauncey Street, Brooklyn.

100 *Per Cent—Plus*

Raymond R. Davis is a clerk employed at the Annex Station Post Office, Columbus, Ohio. During ten and a half years of service, Mr. Davis has taken eleven examinations, all of which he has passed with a record of 100 per cent. In addition, he has a record of 94 per cent for quantity of work done. He has 2.2 per cent extra points for speed (over 17 cards per minute). His general record comes to over 100 per cent. *Southern Postmasters please copy.*

The Meek Shall Inherit the Earth?

The students of the Georgia State College at Forsyth have approved the resolution adopted by the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. But in so doing, the students were admonished to deliver themselves of the following "safe" philosophy which comes to THE CRISIS:

"We further desire to state with further emphases; that our race should to the fullest extent of its ability cease from crime that aggravate and cause lynching. That our men should not live in that loose way that might cause or give grounds for such belief and accusation. Our girls and women should sustain pure and virtuous lives, and in so doing lift our race to a higher standard of morality and intelligence and thereby save the race. We further believe that criminals should be punished legally by the constituted laws and authorities. . . ."

We have grave suspicions that the people who inspired this resolution have not been informed of the fact that Cordie Cheek was lynched in Tennessee for refusing to call a boy of his own age "Mister".

An Institute of Race Relations

The American Friends' Service Committee, Peace Section, is going to hold an Institute on International Relations in Atlanta next summer on an inter-racial basis. White schools, like Emory University and Agnes Scott College will be represented, and colored schools, like Atlanta University and Clark University.

J. Mercer Burrell

Assemblyman J. Mercer Burrell of Essex County, N. J., was the only colored member of the New Jersey Legislature in 1933. He secured the passage of a bill which prohibits discrimination on account of race, color, or creed in employment on public works in New Jersey. Mr. Burrell writes: "My bill is modelled after the one of Representative Richardson of Indiana (see THE CRISIS, January, 1934), but carries the extra provision for a hearing before the Commissioner of Labor *to determine when a case of discrimination has been established.* The failure to include such a provision was the reason given by Governor Pinchot for the vetoing of the Harris bill which recently passed both houses of the Pennsylvania Legislature."

John W. Harris

The Harris bill prohibiting discrimination against colored applicants for employment on public works in Pennsylvania was vetoed by Governor Pinchot. Mr. Harris introduced his bill in December, 1933. The Harris and Richardson bills were identical. The N.A.A.C.P. drafted the original bills, including that of Mr. Burrell in New Jersey.

AWARDS

Hubert T. Delany

An appointment completely out of the ordinary has been given Hubert T. Delany, 32, native of Raleigh, N. C., but for twelve years a resident of New York. Mr. Delany has been appointed a commissioner-member of the Board of Taxes and Assessments. He was sworn into office by Mayor Fiorello

J. Mercer Burrell, New Jersey

William Lloyd Imes, New York

LaGuardia, New York's Italo-Jewish chief executive. The Board of Taxes and Assessments is the final authority in the evaluating, taxing, and assessing of real estate in New York. Mr. Delany receives the responsibility for Manhattan, the richest borough of the city. A thousand letters and telegrams from friends all over the country have come to Mr. Delany since his appointment. None has been received to date from the City Fathers in his native Raleigh, who have just succeeded in firing the last of the Negroes in the Raleigh Postoffice.

William Lloyd Imes

The Rev. Dr. William Lloyd Imes, a graduate of Fisk, Columbia, and Union Theological Seminary, has been elected president of the New York Alumni Club of Union. It is the first time in the ninety-eight years' history of Union that a Negro has been placed in a similar post. When interviewed, the Rev. Dr. Henry Sloane Coffin, president of Union told the press that there was nothing particularly surprising in the selection of Dr. Imes. "Dr. Imes," he said, "is one of the ablest of our alumni. He deserves his honor on his record as a pastor and a preacher." Dr. Imes is a native of Memphis, Tennessee. He is pastor of St. James Presbyterian Church, New York.

Felton G. Clark

The eighth Negro to receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Columbia University is Felton G. Clark, native of Louisiana, at present a member of the faculty of Howard University.

Maceo Jones

The degree of Doctor of Engineering will be awarded Maceo Jones of the faculty of Howard University, by the University of Michigan. Mr. Jone's thesis deals with the determination of wind stress in tall buildings.

Forrester B. Washington

The Civil Works Administration has appointed Forrester B. Washington, head of the Atlanta School of Social Work, as Negro assistant to Harry B. Hopkins, national director of this gigantic program of government relief. A native of Salem, Massachusetts, Mr. Washington is a graduate of Tufts and Columbia.

Rufus A. Atkins

The appointment of Rufus A. Atkins of New York as superintendent of College Station, United States Postoffice, is believed to be the second appointment of its kind. Only one other Negro, Mr. Alexander King, also of New York, has ever held such an appointment in a first-class postoffice. Mr. Atkins will have 105 men under his direction, 85 per cent of whom are colored. The College Station Postoffice has been doing a remarkable postal savings business. Last year more money was deposited there than in the whole city of Boston.

EDUCATION

Fair Harvard?

It looks as though the new President of Harvard College was of different mind in some respects from President Lowell. And if this proves to be true, God be praised! President Lowell's chief solicitude seemed to be the education of a selected caste of Americans of happy birth, according to the system which has produced the powerful aristocracy of England. President Conant, on the other hand, has recently said:

"The success or failure of the civilization we are building in America today, depends on the new recruits enlisted by the universities to carry on this never-ending adventure.

"No one can predict in what locality able young men may be found or into what family they may be born. A widespread democratic system of education which provides for suitable selection should produce the greatest number of talented and well-trained intellectual leaders.

"The universities must see to it that they select for higher education the men of exceptional talent and exclude none who are really gifted. The privately endowed institutions, if they are to play their part as national universities, must be careful to have their share of the most promising youths of the entire country.

"An intellectual career open to the talented, and really open to all, will provide, perhaps, in the next twenty-five years in this country a group of creative workers which will make permanent contributions to civilization of the greatest significance."

This, if it means anything, calls for the admission of Negroes, Jews and other disadvantaged peoples to Harvard University on the same terms with which they were attracted and welcomed in the early days of the 20th Century. THE CRISIS wrote President Conant.

"Curiously Limited?"

Dr. W. Napoleon Rivers writes THE CRISIS:

If the study (see *Modern Languages*, page 48, The February CRISIS) seemed curiously limited, it is due to the fact that Atlanta University, Fisk, and Spelman ignored the study. The study did not ignore them. Three separate pieces of mail were sent Fisk; I even asked a professor of Fisk to remind the language professor of my unanswered letters. A reply from Fisk has not come to date. The teacher at Atlanta University was *new*, having spent "five years in France". No reply came from Spelman, and other schools not mentioned in the study. The editor of the *Journal of Negro Education* omitted the name of West Virginia State for reasons unknown to me. He has a letter concerning this omission.

Negro Speaker at White Colleges

Noah Walter, Negro member of the executive committee of the Young People's Socialist League, has spoken at Amherst, Smith College, Springfield Y.M.C.A. College, and Williams, during recent weeks.

Bluefield State College

At almost every session of the West Virginia Legislature there is an attempt to dismantle Bluefield State College at Bluefield. Somestimes the move is initiated by job-hungry Negroes. At other times the move is fostered by the hill-billies from the counties that border Virginia and Ohio. The most recent attempt to close the college was blocked by the alertness of Bluefield colored citizens, and the quality of political awareness for which West Virginia Negroes are justly famous.

Negro History Week

The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History has worked out an admirable program for the teaching of the value of the study of Negro history. The outline is sketchy, as it necessarily must be, but there is an interesting bibliography. For some unaccountable reason, Spero and Harris: "The Black Worker" is not listed as suitable material for a discussion of Negro labor. Under *Mathematics and Sciences*, attention should hereafter be called to the part played in the development of mathematics by African races. No one knows, for example, whether Euclid was editor, compiler, or author. What is known is that he wrote in Alexandria, in Africa. It is not to be proved that he was a Greek, even. Also, the oldest known mathematical document is the Ahmes Papyrus, of Egyptian origin in the period when the Black Hordes from the South were playing an important part in Egyptian civilization.

Bigotry—Nyack Style

Mr. George W. Harris, editor of the *New York News*, has complained about an English teacher in the mixed schools at Nyack, New York, who submitted the following "true and false" questions to her Ninth Grade class:

"I place the Negro on the same social basis as I would a mule.

"The inability of the Negro to develop outstanding leaders dooms them to a low place in society.

"No Negro has the slightest right to resent or even question the illegal killing of one of his race.

"I would not patronize a hotel that accommodated Negroes.

"Negroes must undergo many years of civilization before they may be said to reach the social level of the white man.

"A great majority of Negroes should be treated as well-trained apes."

Some of the Negro students refused to take the test.

PAN-AFRICA

To a Stranger Writing from Switzerland:

"I have your letter of November 30. In the main, I quite agree with your thesis that in

(*Continued on page 74*)

Frank Lett, University of Michigan

BOYS - REMEMBER OUR CONSTITUTION!

Destitute Men Cared For in a New York Armory—Need Knows No Color Line

the long run the descendants of African Negroes in America should play a large part in the development of Africa. But there are several difficulties in the way of such a movement. First of all, you must remember that the twelve million Negroes in the United States, while descended from African Negroes, are not Africans, but separated from their fatherland by one or two centuries of time and a wide infiltration of white and Indian blood. They would be, therefore, as strange to Africa, to its climate, social condition and languages, as any other immigrant.

On the other hand, the Africans would not immediately recognize their kinship to their relatives from overseas. Careful understanding and social integration would have to be gone through and the immigrants find a place and function in the new land.

In addition to all this, as you intimate, there is the attitude of the white European Colonial powers. They are especially inimical to American Negroes because they are afraid that these Negroes will stir up unrest and revolt among the African Negroes and will encourage them to seek education and independence.

All this means a slow, diplomatic and reasonable approach. I tried to begin this as far back as 1918 in a series of Pan-African Congresses, the first of which was held in Paris in 1918; the second in London and Paris in 1921; the third in London and Lisbon in 1923, and the fourth in New York in 1925. The results while interesting, were far from definite. The Colonial Powers insisted on believing that we were simply trying to stir up trouble, and the rapprochement between the different groups of Negroes was only partial. This movement ought to be carried further. For instance, there ought to be held in Africa, possibly in Liberia or in Abyssinia, or in French West Africa, another Pan-African Congress, in which a clear program for uniting the different groups of Africans throughout the world in a definite peaceful project for the redemption of Africa should be laid down, and at the same time clear, frank and cordial understanding between the white and black races, inaugurated. Nothing less than a broad, world-wide movement of this sort is going to accomplish, in my opinion, what you have in mind. If you are interested in this and can co-operate in any way, I should be glad to hear from you."

THE THEATRE

"Home to Canaan"

The Gilpin Players of Cleveland, Ohio, are now in their 13th season. Their third production of the year was "Home to Canaan," a drama by Richard Chase. The cast included John Mariott, Fitzhugh Woodford, William Johnson, Olive Hale, Hazel Mountain Walker, Jesse Firse, and Festus Fitzhugh. The company has its own theatre, "The Karamou", at 3807 Central Avenue.

Hell on Earth

A German-made "movie", needless to say, made in the era before Hitler, has a Negro soldier in one of the leading roles. The picture is frankly anti-war propaganda, and is worth seeing.

Little Theatre

Under the auspices of The Lenox Players of Saint Martin's Church, a Little Theatre tournament was run for three evenings.

N.A.A.C.P.

Seven Years of Progress

Dr. Charles M. Reid of Jamaica, Long Island, has retired from the presidency of the Branch after a term of seven years. Since the Branch was first organized in 1927, the citizens of Jamaica have seen many changes in race relations. The Ku Klux Klan was sweeping Long Island, seven years ago, and Negro citizens were often awakened by the noise of crashing windows and the crackling of a burning cross set up on the lawn by a mob of white people. In open defiance to the Civil Rights Law, Negroes were barred from public places, and refused accommodation in almost every instance. Today the Branch is alive, and the Klan is dead.

Mr. G. W. A. Murray is the new president. Since 1927 the Branch has contributed $4,118.37 for the support of the national program of the Association. Much more than that amount has been spent in local work in Jamaica.

DEAD

Salem Tutt Whitney

The old "Smart Set" shows were the forerunners in many respects of later dramatic productions by Negroes. The name of Salem Tutt Whitney will always be recalled in talking about them. Mr. Whitney was sixty-six years of age. He was born at Logansport, Indiana, and is said to have started life as a minister. He was a member of the cast of "Green Pastures."

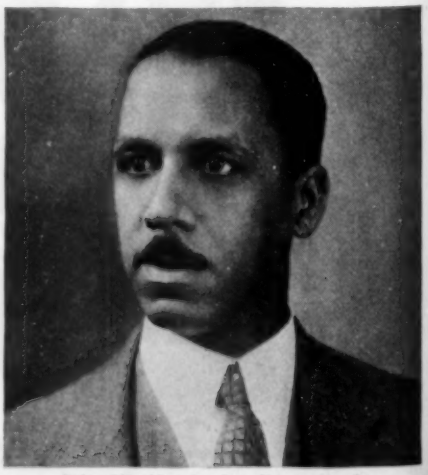
MR. JAMES CROW

Sportsmanship—American Style

Frank Lett made the all-State basketball team during his high school career at Battle Creek, Michigan. He enrolled as a freshman last fall at the University of Michigan. Although DeHart Hubbard, Eddie Tolan, and lately, Willis Ward have made Michigan famous for her track teams, there is a "gentlemen's" agreement among members of the Big Ten (Ohio State, Michigan, Chicago, Indiana, Purdue, Northwestern, Iowa, Illinois, Minnesota, and Wisconsin) which excludes Negroes from the basketball squads. After a storm of protest Lett was finally allowed to compete for the freshman squad. And yet, there are persons who argue that the athletes have done more to make the road easy for Negro students than the scholars.

Mass Murder

White men who drink a Negro's whiskey, eat his food, sleep in his bed, and often as not violate his wife and children, are all too common in the United States. But white men who do all these things then institute mass murder rather than stand correction are especially common in the South. Since last November, three Negroes have been killed, and many others flogged by white mobs in Bartow, Georgia. The Interracial Commission has been influential in getting the affair brought to public notice.



John W. Harris, Jr., Pennsylvania

All Lynchers Acquitted

The order of procedure of public officials in the matter of crime committed against Negroes is (1) to deplore (2) to investigate with winking eye (3) to issue a statement that "nothing will stand in the way of justice" (4) and finally after a few weeks, to turn loose the guilty parties. The Negro papers are full of this sort of thing each week, but it seems necessary to record that nothing has been done (1) by the Governor of Tennessee in the lynching of Cordie Cheek (2) ditto by the Governor of Missouri in regard to the Rolph-inspired mob (3) ditto again by the one-time presidential hopeful, the Governor of Maryland. For that matter nothing but talk has been done to the Governor of California.

Black Soldiery

Mr. Walter Wilson, New Preston, Connecticut, wants CRISIS readers to send him in confidence, material relating of the discriminations against Negro soldiers in the last War. He especially wants to know instances of discrimination by the Y. M. C. A., white officers of colored soldiers, by the government against colored officers, by draft officers against colored men entitled to exemption, by city people against country people, and the like. Are there readers of The CRISIS who will write Mr. Preston?

SOUTH AFRICA

Starvation

It is learned that a Native reserve, of 40,000 morgen, in the Jacobsdal division, Orange Free State, known as Opperman's Ground, is threatened with starvation. The livestock of the 300 people living there have all died during the recent unprecedented drought, and their only means of existence has been hiring grazing to European farmers. The grass having now failed, this source of livelihood is finished, and the emaciated people are unfit for any work requiring strength. The magistrate of Jacobsdal is investigating their need, and food will require to be provided on a large scale to save them from an untimely end.

Since this message was received, it is hoped that there will have been copious rains in the Jacobsdal division and that the position will have been relieved.

European Brutality

"For every case of assaulting Natives which comes into court," said the *Johannesburg Star* in a leader during the week, "there are many more that are never heard of by the public. . . . The frequency of these cases during the past year can only be attributed to the belief of the individuals concerned that they would be able to 'get away with it' owing to their privileged position and the unlikelihood of their victim preferring a criminal charge against them. *We believe that the whole wretched business could be stopped at once if the higher police authorities acted vigorously.*"

THE BELGIAN CONGO

Native Unrest

Correspondence of the *African World* reveals the following:

The Brussels "Soir" issued a message from the "Prescobel" correspondent at Boonde, reporting that Doctor Schwetz, who was on a medical mission was assaulted by Bosaka natives on board his sternwheeler. The natives were angry because the timber they were supplying to the steamers was being irregularly paid for. To prevent more grave incidents, the sternwheeler left at once. In the same message the "Prescobel" correspondent reports that arrows were discharged

Keeping The Crisis Alive—Clyde Broadus, Dunbar Apartments, New York

by the Liundji at the steamer of the Roman Catholic Mission.

The "Soir" also published yesterday a "Prescobel" radio from Léopoldville, reporting that at the Governor-General's headquarters one was unable either to confirm or contradict this news. One is however aware there of the troublesome state of mind of the natives of the Boende country, and for that reason General Ermens is to shortly proceed on the spot.

At the Colonial Office this morning, no news was obtainable concerning these incidents.

(Boende is the chief place of the Tshuapa District, Equatorial Province. It is built on the left bank of the navigable Tshuapa River, a tributary of the Ruki, which flows into the Congo River at Coquilhatville, some 300 kilometers westwards.)

A "Prescobel" message from Kikwit, on the 2nd inst., to the Brussels "Soir," reports that the military occupation of the Idiofa country (east of Kikwit) will be maintained, as the attitude of some tribes is still suspect.

The "Prescobel" correspondent adds that the unrest results from the hostility of the sorcerers. As we have put an end to their rule, the sorcerers are hostile to us, and avail themselves of every opportunity to rouse the natives against the Whites.

According to the "Prescobel" correspondent (radio flashed on the 1st inst.), General Ermens considers that every danger of a general insurrection of the Bashilele is henceforth removed.

The "Prescobel" correspondent reports, too, that aerodromes have been created at Idiofa and at Kilembe, south-east of Idiofa, in order to enable troops and armaments to be quickly brought there in case of necessity. Further, more troops will be stationed in that country.

AMONG THE HEATHEN

Sterilization

Germany's manly Adoph Hitler, whom Diego Rivera deftly caricatures as a fidgety little man with a pansy in his neck-tie, is eager to make he-men of all the Germans. To help the movement along he is going to sterilize all of the colored children. He is going to remove by surgery all traces of African blood in the German populace. He is going to make Germany pure by the knife. There are about six hundred colored children in the Rhine Valley, it is said. Their parents were German women and French Colonial soldiers. Whether Hitler intends to wipe out all traces of African blood that got into Germany before 1917 is not known.

A Prophet of Doom

One of the significant writers of present day Germany is Oswald Spengler. His latest book was reviewed from the German in the February CRISIS by Mary Van Kleeck. The American version (Alfred Knopf, New York, $2.50) is now off press. Spengler makes the following statement regarding the American class war:

"In any case: when the white proletariat breaks loose in the United States, the Negro will be on the spot, and behind him Indians and Japanese will await their hour. Similarly a black France would have little hesitation in outdoing the Parisian horrors of 1792 and 1871. And would the white leaders of the class war ever hesitate if coloured outbreaks opened up a way for them? They have never been fastidious in the means they use. It would make no difference if the voice of Moscow ceased to dictate. It has done its work, and the work goes forward of itself. We have waged our wars and class wars before the eyes of colour, have humiliated and betrayed each other; we have even summoned it to take part in them. Would it be anything to wonder at if at last colour were to act on its own account?"

"A Penny a Head"

By WILLIAM PICKENS

THEY agree with us, not only as to the desirability, but also as to the possibility of our giving a fund to the N.A.A.C.P. in the year of 1934 which will be equal to at least "A penny a head for every Negro" in the country.

They are responding from all walks of life and from all sorts of organizations. Of course we differ in this detail or that as to *how* we should be defended, but we all agree on the desperate need of defense. And ninety-nine per cent of us agree that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is not only our most efficient arm of defense but it is practically our only available defender of civil and citizenship rights. For one year at least we are resolved to forget individuals and all other little things and pull together for the Great Cause. We are all in the same boat, aiming to arrive at the same port, —and we realize that we must pull together, with many sorts of people in our crew, and with all sorts of people in the "human cargo" which we have aboard. But the ship will either reach port or go down for all of us.

Listen to a few of them speaking for themselves: Charlotte Hawkins Brown, President, The Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina: "You may count on me every time to stand by any program that the N.A.A.C.P. wishes to put over. The work here keeps me so strained financially that I cannot do what I want to but I will give one dollar per year for every year the N.A.A.C.P. has existed. I may have to pay it in bits but you will get it in 1934."

James A. Brown, New York City: "I think that a grand idea, a penny for every Negro in the United States and I would like to help. Have you any literature or placards that I could use to put the idea over? . . . I am sure I could get a little help from the boys that I work with."

Henry A. Boyd, National Baptist Publishing Board, Nashville, Tenn.: "I am enclosing one hundred pennies to represent me and my wife and perhaps take care of ninety-eight others who may not be reached."

Bishop W. Sampson, Brooks, San Antonio, Texas: "I assure you that I am personally interested in the great work that you are doing. You may count on me as one of your strong supporters."

Mrs. Henry Isom, Chaplain, Indiana Association of Colored Women's Clubs, Washington, Ind.: "As to celebrating the 125th anniversary of the birth of Lincoln and the 25th anniversary of the N.A.A.C.P. you may count on Washington as being a part of the Negro population of America to assist in this worthy cause."

Rev. Wm. Smith, Willimantic, Conn.: "I am always willing to do whatever I can to advance my race . . . I would like to have you send me . . . something in the way of credentials that I can use among the white people."

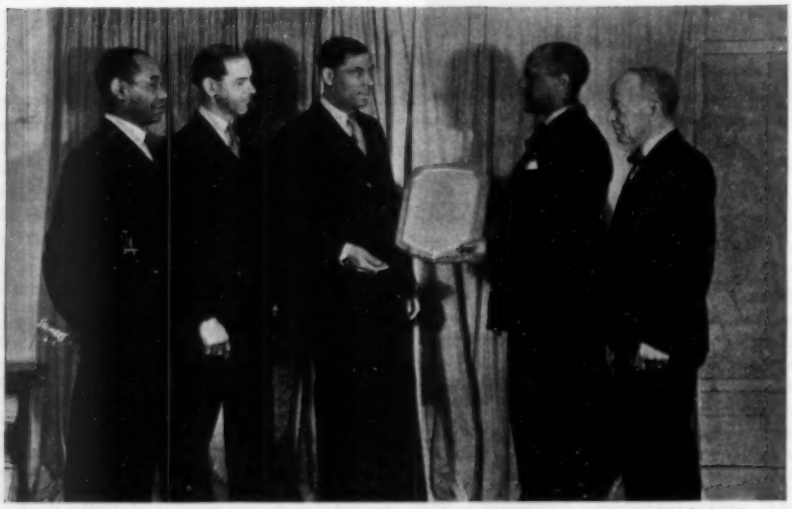
C. M. Cain, Atlantic City, New Jersey: "While there is no branch of N.A.A.C.P. in Atlantic City I feel if given an opportunity our people would take substantial part in the Silver Jubilee. We have fifteen thousand colored population. What would be our quota?"

E. Cottrell, Presiding Bishop, C.M.E. Church, Holly Springs, Miss.: "I wish to assure you that in the poor area over which I preside in the State of Arkansas which is hardest hit of any state in the Union, I will make an effort to comply with your request. I wish further to assure you as a member of the organization that I am profoundly interested in the great work that the N.A.A.C.P. is doing for the legal protection of our group."

C. A. Calhoun, C. M. E. Church, Omaha: "I am in perfect accord with the movement and will do all in my power to make this great event a success. In the near future you will have a money order to represent my congregation."

Carl Murphy, Editor *"Afro-American,"* Baltimore: "I will give $25.00 for the 25 years of our Association's past services."

Dr. Louis T. Wright, New York, N. Y.: "You can put me down for $25.00, whenever you wish it."



JAMAICA, LONG ISLAND, BRANCH OF THE N. A. A. C. P. HONORS RETIRING PRESIDENT

Dr. Charles M. Reid receives plaque from Lester M. Dotson. Gordon H. Jones, Frank M. Turner, and President G. W. A. Murray take part in the ceremony.

IN CONJUNCTION with its Twenty-fifth Anniversary Campaign, the Association is planning a dinner to be held Sunday evening, March 18th, at seven o'clock, at the International House, 500 Riverside Drive, New York City. The dinner program has not been completed, but we anticipate having as one of our speakers Governor Herbert H. Lehman, a member of the Board of Directors. In response to our invitation, Governor Lehman writes:

"It will give me great pleasure to attend the dinner if I can possibly arrange it. . . . Nothing would give me more satisfaction than to be able to express again my interest in the work of the Association with which I am proud to be connected."

The price of the dinner is $1.75. Tables seat from six to ten persons. For reservations, write Mrs. Corinne Wright, Chairman, N. A. A. C. P. Dinner Committee, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

Boulder Dam

By LELAND STANFORD HAWKINS

CENTURIES ago, wrathful Nature, ripped the guts of the Eldorado Range, and left a gaping wound, from 1000 to 6000 feet deep across the blistered feverish stomach of the prairie, to divide Nevada and Arizona. Then the melting snows, way up North in Wyoming, in the Rockies, ran down to become an angry, turbulent river, the roaring Colorado, which hammers and smashes its flooding way, down to and through that long canyon, in a mad determination to empty its silt into the Gulf of California.

Only the imagination of the American could have conceived of damming up the mouth of that canyon with a concrete wall, a mile wide, one and a half times as high as the Washington Monument and thicker than the Pyramids of Egypt, to build a cup of water so large that it could supply a five thousand gallon drink to each man, woman and child on the face of the earth, water for two million irrigable acres of land, for more power development than Muscle Shoals, Niagara Falls and Dnieperstroy combined.

Only the prejudice that is American could have decided not to employ any black citizens in the building of it. So Boulder Dam begins, to live throughout the ages, truly American; monument of industrial development; symbol of race prejudice.

The Dam is being built for the United States Government by a combination of six different companies, each specializing in a particular phase of the construction and engineering work. They are known as The Six Companies, Incorporated, and are under a contract for one hundred and sixty-five million dollars.

Strain your credibility, and think of the four diversion tunnels, two on each side of the Colorado River, cut out of solid rock, through which the water is diverted to permit the building of the dam while the river continues its flow. They are large enough to carry the normal flow of the mighty Mississippi. The high line cable, largest in the world, runs from the Nevada to the Arizona side, capable of carrying 150 tons—the equivalent of 75 automobiles. The total amount of concrete used will be enough to build a standard paved highway, 16 feet wide from Miami, Florida, to Seattle, Washington. More concrete will be poured than the total amount used by the U. S. Bureau of Reclamation in all construction activities during 27 years of existence. The measurements are 727 feet, height above bed rock; 1180 feet, width at top; 45 feet, thickness at top; 650 feet, thickness at bottom. The dam will create the world's largest artificial lake, 115 miles long with a shore line of 550 miles—and Boulder Dam is the "World's Greatest Engineering Feat."

When the question of the employment of Negroes was first discussed, the cry went up, "Don't Africanize Las Vegas." Well, they didn't Africanize, purify, nor civilize that frontier town—or Nevada, where race prejudice stinks as it does in Dixie, where the prostitutes hustle from neon lighted cribs on the main streets, where gambling dives run with front doors wide open, and where life is as ugly and as tough as their desert horned toads and cacti.

Leland Stanford Hawkins,
Los Angeles, California

Then, to the chagrin of Las Vegas, twenty-five miles away, on the rim of the canyon, at the dam-site, a model town, Boulder City, was constructed at a cost of two million dollars, and for the four thousand one hundred white employees and their families.

And in Las Vegas: a hard-labored, stooped, middle aged, brown Negro, with the deep set, blazing black eyes of the race fanatic and the stubbornness of the grubstake miner, Walter Hamilton, rallied around him some amazingly outspoken Negro ex-service men, members of a post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and a few old Negro residents. He has persistently protested to senators, congressmen and cabinet officers against conditions. Fighting, old Walter Hamilton, whose answer to the questionnaire of the National Bar Association, compiled with the aid of the files of the *Las Vegas Age*, *Las Vegas Evening Journal*, and the *Boulder City Journal*, contains such excerpts as:

1. The largest number of Negroes employed on the Dam was thirty. From August 18 to November 15, 1932.

2. The average total pay-roll was in excess of $20,000.00 per day. The average pay-roll for Negroes was $122.80. This was the maximum.

3. Negroes were employed as laborers on railroad and in tunnels. One as driver of supply truck for Negro crew on railroad and one as Foreman of Negro labor crew at tunnels.

4. Negro laborers have not lived in Boulder City. They lived at the River Camp from August 13, 1932, until March 15, 1933. They were segregated as to Dormitory and had separate tables in mess-hall. Separate toilets, and were not allowed to drink at the regular fountains but were required to use water bags which were filled at the fountains and carried to the men where working. One pool table was reserved for Negroes and a separate set of glasses was used at the fountain in the recreation room. Negroes were furnished a separate truck to transport them to and from work.

5. At present 12 or 14 Negroes are employed.

6. The present daily pay-roll of Negroes does not exceed $56.

Hamilton has supplied the National Bar Association and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People with most of the information upon which these organizations made representations in Washington and San Francisco.

In San Francisco, the likeable and suave, late Walter Bechtel, Sr., President of the Six Companies, Inc., received the attorney of these Negro organizations in several very cordial conferences; the proffered cigars, assurances of personal friendship, introductions to prominent visiting contractors, and a politician-like agreeableness. "Sure, the matter should have been brought to his attention before it was carried to Washington. Negroes would be employed, given a dormitory, have same food as the white men and a Negro foreman."

The result was that from August 18 to November 15, 1932, the largest number of Negroes employed on the Dam was just thirty. They were employed prior to the presidential election and laid off immediately after it. Mr. Bechtel pointed out that whereas Las Vegas had voted 75 per cent for Roosevelt, the Negroes there had gone 100 per cent Democratic. He insisted that after all he would be guided solely by

the wishes of the most competent man to know what labor was needed, his general superintendent at the Dam, Mr. Frank Crowe.

Superintendent Crowe, six feet four of brawn, muscle and no fat, is around fifty years of age; the working boss on one of the greatest engineering projects this world has ever known. A powerful, hard-fisted, capable slave-driver, who must have been one convincing arbitrator with a pick handle in some of those Southwestern labor disputes and I.W.W. outbreaks. The type used to handling rough men. He neither loves, fears, nor pities the worst of them. He knows men, and thinks he knows Negroes.

He is the man who is going to put "darkies to work when jobs occur where they won't come in contact with the white men"; who knows "how darkies can work under a darky singing boss." He is the boss who did put those few Negroes to work—on the river camp—where the sun beats down as hot as it does in Death Valley; where rocks could pelt their steel helmets like hailstones. He gave them separate bags of water, which hung in the sun so they would not use the drinking fountains, separate toilets so as to "protect them from the southern white employees," a separate truck to ride in, and a separate dormitory where not one of God's living things could remain during the summer months.

He referred the attorney of those Negro organizations to the finest "darky" he knew in Las Vegas, a sort of contact man. His black contact man secures in advance the list of Negroes to be employed, brings them into the employment bureau, charges them twelve dollars membership in his Negro Laborers' Protective Association, and publicly boasts that they must join if they want to work on this project of the Government of the United States.

To conclude that these Six Companies were prejudiced against the employment of Negroes as laborers on the dam project would not be logical. Under ordinary circumstances, in normal times when there is no depression, Negro, coolie or peon labor would be preferred not only because it is the cheapest labor but also the least troublesome. The West is an example of this. Little has ever been said of the terrible loss of life among the Chinese coolies who built the railroads. So too, with Boulder Dam—it is the most dangerous, heart-breaking, hottest task ever attempted by man. One or two thousand Negroes, Chinese or Mexicans swept to eternity through carelessness or negligence would hardly cause a murmur, but the loss of the precious life of one white American will bring down the screams and howls for investigations, inquests and probes from the many low grade politicians holding public office in our country.

Rumors still persist that due to the extreme heat, Negro labor will ultimately finish the Dam. This prediction is contingent upon when the depression ends, as plenty of white men are available in spite of the heat.

Mr. Crowe spoke of the pitiful, thousands of destitute, pouring into the desert, people looking for work when the project first began. They were white and they had to be cared for. However, having decided on, or having been forced to accept American white labor, with the consequential expenditure of huge sums for accident prevention equipment, for steel helmets to protect their heads, for air-cooled dormitories, for recreatio.. facilities, schools, churches, paved streets, concrete side walks, modern theatre, water and sewerage system, electric lights, telephones, buses and railroads; and having met all the conditions precedent to their contract, the builders have remained unmoved by any just claim of the Negroes. Out of courtesy, perhaps to Secretary Wilbur, they did put a handful of Negroes to work to still the protests during the Hoover Campaign, but so far they have remained adamant in the position that the contract gives the Government no voice in determining the labor that shall be employed by the contractors; the provisions are only as to preferences to ex-service nen and citizens of United States.

As recent as October 23, 1933, Mr. Clark Foreman, Advisor on the Economic Status of Negroes, in a letter to Commander N. A. Jones of Major G. W. Preolue Post 2668, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Las Vegas, Nevada, stated:

> "You will understand that the contracts for Boulder Dam were made some time ago, before the present administration took charge, and that it is impossible for the secretary to insist now on terms which were not included in the original contract."

On September 21st the Secretary of Interior, Harold L. Ickes, had written to the State Engineers for the Public Works Administration:

> "It is important to bear in mind that the Public Works Administration is for the benefit of all the people of the country—and that there be no discrimination exercised against any person because of color or religious affiliation.
>
> "This policy is in accord with Section 206 (4) of the National Industrial Recovery Act."

Being an authority on Negroes, Mr. Clark Foreman should not be accused of attributing to this humble Negro veteran, in his shack down there on the Nevada desert, a better understanding than his own superior, the Secretary of the Interior, whose ruling of September 21, 1933, seems to be in accord with the opinions of most of the eminent Constitutional lawyers.

The established opinion is that an emergency justifies governmental action more drastic and far-reaching than is proper in ordinary times. Congress in the Recovery Act has delegated to the President and his subordinates more discretion than is consistent with normal conditions, realizing and expressing a confidence that their prerogative must be exercised with economic rather than hard legal wisdom.

The New Deal recognizes an emergency which makes a difference but does not suspend the Constitution. It stretches the police power, usually invoked to protect health and morality, to regulation of business; yes, even the construction of Boulder Dam if an economic discrimination is shown there, to the detriment of any group of citizens.

And the facts as they are—Black men hoisted the boulders for the Pyramids; African slaves were competent enough to build up the wealth of America without sharing in it; black laborers helped to construct the big ditch at Panama; but there is an understanding that Negro veterans must not be employed at Boulder Dam, so long as American white slaves are available and for the first time in our history, willing to work at the "black man's jobs."

WHAT THE LETTERS MEAN

AAA—Agricultural Adjustment Administration.
CAB—Consumers' Advisory Board.
CCC—Civilian Conservation Corps.
CCC—Commodity Credit Corporation.
CSB—Central Statistical Board.
CWA—Civil Works Administration.
EHC (Public Works)—Emergency Housing Corporation.
EHFA—Electric Home and Farm Authority.
FACA—Federal Alcoholic Control Administration.
FCA—Farm Credit Administration.
FCT—Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation.
FDIC—Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.
FEHC—Federal Emergency Housing Corporation.
FERA—Federal Emergency Relief Administration.
FSRC—Federal Surplus Relief Corporation.
GFA—Grain Futures Administration.
HLB—(Federal) Home Loan Bank (Board).
HOLC—Home Owners' Loan Corporation.
NEC—National Emergency Council.
NIRA—National Industrial Recovery Act.
NLB—National Labor Board.
NRA—National Recovery Administration.
PIA—Petroleum Industry Administration (Oil Code).
PRA—President's Re-employment Agreement.
PWA—Public Works Administration.
RFC—Reconstruction Finance Corp.
SAB—Science Advisory Board.
TVA—Tennessee Valley Authority.

Segregation—A Symposium

J. E. SPINGARN, DAVID H. PIERCE, WALTER WHITE LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL, AND OTHERS

J. E. SPINGARN
Chairman of the Board, N. A. A. C. P.

I AM glad that Dr. Du Bois has opened a discussion on the meaning and implications of segregation. Our thought on the subject certainly needs to be clarified. I do not always see eye to eye with Dr. Du Bois, but our personal friendship has survived mere differences of opinion for a quarter of a century, and I still think that he is pre-eminent over all his fellows in the ability to shed intellectual light on the problems of the American Negro. In this case I agree with him that "it would be idiotic simply to sit on the side lines and yell: 'No segregation!' in an increasingly segregated world."

But I do not quite follow him in what he says of the attitude of the N.A.A.C.P. in his editorial in the February CRISIS, nor do I think that the editorial, admirable though it is in many ways, states the whole problem as clearly as it should be stated. Despite the arguments of Dr. Du Bois, I believe that it is a fair statement of the attitude of the N.A.A.C.P. to say that the Association has always been squarely opposed to segregation. It is true that the Association has never issued any statement saying, "We are opposed to segregation," and that it has for the most part limited itself to statements and acts in regard to concrete cases. But that it was opposed to segregation, that it thought the principle of segregation wrong, was so completely accepted by all of us that we never realized the Board had never made a clear and official pronouncement until Dr. Du Bois started this discussion. The officers of the Association, in their official capacity, have expressed unqualified opposition to segregation, without the disapproval of the Board, for many years.

When I therefore say that the Association has always been opposed to segregation, I am thinking of a faith, a conviction, a state of mind, not an official pronouncement or a concrete act. I mean that we have always regarded segregation as an evil. And that we have always been opposed to segregation in this sense, that we have always regarded it as an evil. Dr. Du Bois himself admits in his editorial when he says that in our acceptance of "the recurrent necessity of united separate action on the part of Negroes," the Association "has insistently and continually pointed out that such action is in any case a necessary *evil.*" I italicize the word *evil,* for it symbolizes the Association's historic attitude toward segregation. When the Association in its First Annual Report in 1911 said that one of its purposes was "to secure equality of opportunity *everywhere,*" it was implying the same thing, for how can one have equality of opportunity *everywhere* when there is segregation? If it did not use the word segregation at that time, it was because the word had not come into such general usage as it did a few years later in connection with the municipal segregation acts. But we were always against segregation; we always regarded it as an evil, if sometimes a necessary evil. Our tacit acceptance of some forms of this evil does not affect our attitude toward segregation in general.

Let me take an illustration of what I mean from Dr. Du Bois's own career. He has always been opposed to War, at least as far back as I can remember. He has excoriated it on innumerable occasions. I remember his bitter speech against War at the dinner given in honor of his fiftieth birthday in February, 1918. Yet in April or May of that very year, Dr. Du Bois published an editorial in favor of the Negro Officers Training Camp; and in June of the same year he expressed his willingness to accept a commission as an officer of the army, in a position where he could be of service to Negro troops, and was prevented only by his failure to pass the physical examination. Does that mean that Dr. Du Bois was no longer opposed to War, that he no longer thought it an evil? Of course not. It merely meant that in certain concrete cases he preferred to accept what he considered for the moment the lesser of two evils.

I might say in passing that Dr. Du Bois is mistaken in thinking that the fight for the Negro Officers Training Camp was started *after* instead of *before* War was declared. He does not make clear enough that the Association had nothing officially to do with the agitation in favor of the Camp, for as the N.A.A.C.P. Branch Bulletin for March, 1917, stated, "Mr. Spingarn was most particular to let it be known that he was acting only for himself in the matter;" and the Camp therefore has no bearing whatever on the Association's attitude toward segregation. I might also say that when Mr. James Weldon Johnson's autobiography, "Along This Way," appeared recently, I wrote him protesting against the phrasing of his statement that "the Association under the leadership of J. E. Spingarn" had been responsible for the creation of the Camp. The executive officers of the Association gave me no official aid before the Camp was a *fait accompli,* and I do not recall any unofficial aid except a powerful editorial in THE CRISIS. But all this is a subject for another article, on the Camp itself, which I may possibly write some day.

What I wish to emphasize, here, is that the Association has always been opposed to segregation, though it never thought out clearly just what this opposition involved. It never accepted the distinction between discrimination and segregation which Dr. Du Bois makes in his January editorial. That distinction was created, not by us, but by the Southern lawyers who wished to show that it was legal and constitutional to Jim Crow the Negro. We have never officially accepted it because we felt that where there was segregation there must always inevitably be discrimination—that we could not rest short of "equality of opportunity *everywhere*" (as our First Annual Report said), and "everywhere" means equality in the *white* world as well as in the black. Nor does the distinction between voluntary and involuntary segregation affect the main point, since we have always believed that even voluntary segregation is an evil, though perhaps a necessary evil.

But if we really believe that segregation is an evil, the problem of what to do about it is a relatively simple one. It is merely the question of how far one should go in making concessions to practical exigencies. It is the old, old dispute between absolutist and relativist, idealist and realist, agitator and statesman, doctrinaire and practical man. It often involves infinitely difficult decisions in applying the principle to concrete cases, but the general problem is neither new nor difficult; it is in fact as old as the hills, and will continue as long as men exist and differ in temperament.

But there is another quite different problem, which Dr. Du Bois touches lightly if at all in his February editorial. It is this: Should the Association completely change its attitude, and accept segregation, not as an evil at all, not even as a necessary evil forced by circumstances, but as something good? This is the attitude adopted by certain extreme wings of the Jewish people, such as Ludwig Lewisohn on the one hand and the Zionists on the other. It is an attitude of cultural and social nationalism (not to mention the more extreme attitude of political nationalism),

which insists that a people or race can achieve its true development only when it creates its own spiritual "centre" and disregards the centres of other races or peoples. This does not mean complete separation from all other peoples; that would be as impossible as it would be undesirable in our modern world. But it does mean that the Negro should have his own spiritual centre as much as a Frenchman has his, and that he should not care for more intercourse with other peoples than a Frenchman has with England or Germany. In the case of the Negro it would raise the question, for example, whether a colored youth does not have a happier and more normal experience, fulfill himself more completely, and prepare himself better for life in a Negro college than in a white college. I am giving no answers to these questions; I may do that later; now I am merely trying to state the problem as clearly as brevity permits.

So we see that there are not two questions to answer, as Dr. Du Bois implies, but three questions.

1. Shall the Association continue to regard segregation as an "evil,"—always an evil, even when circumstances seem to make it necessary; or shall we admit that segregation has possibilities of good?

2. If it is an evil in itself, should the Association be unbending in its fight against every form of it, and never yield to necessity in a single case, or should it choose lesser evils when these present themselves, and if the latter, when and how?

3. If it is not an evil in itself, but only in the way in which it is sometimes used, how shall the Association act? Shall we not oppose it at all, and even welcome it as the straightest path to cultural and social development, or shall we oppose it in certain cases, and if so, when and how?

The second question is relatively a very simple one to answer compared with the first and third; but it would be tragic if we gave the wrong answer to any of them.

DAVID H. PIERCE
Cleveland Heights, Ohio

YOUR article in the February Crisis must be elaborated. Otherwise you could easily be charged with advocating a policy of extreme reaction.

After reading your statement, my first question addressed to myself was, "When should the N.A.A.C.P. engage in a struggle and when should it refrain?" And frankly, were I to look to your recent pronouncements for guidance, I could not find an answer.

Let us make a concrete issue which concerns us in Ohio. A brilliant young colored girl was refused permission to take a course in home management at Ohio State University, even though the course was prescribed as necessary for a degree. The supreme court ruled against her. Negroes are entitled to "equal but not identical accommodations." She was graduated without the required course. I have in mind the Doris Weaver case, which, if properly advertised among Negroes and liberal whites, can wreck the Democratic party in Ohio.

If the Negro desires to erect a separate nation within these United States, there is much to say in support of such an endeavor. But he must make no concession whatever that will convey the impression he is willing to compromise with prejudice. Your position, I fear, involves too great a retreat. Furthermore it appears to embrace the belief that the present established order is the permanently established order.

My position is that the Negro in America should make his plight a subject for international consideration. He should give more thought to heretical political and social theories. But any concession must be followed by more concessions, and the end must be slavery.

The Negro has been altogether too respectful in the face of a social order which stacks the cards against him.

WALTER WHITE
Secretary, N. A. A. C. P.

NUMEROUS requests have been made of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People for a statement of the position of the Association on editorials by Dr. Du Bois on "Segregation" in the January and February issues of The Crisis. It is fitting and proper that the statement of the Secretary's position should first appear in The Crisis, the official organ of the Association.

Various interpretations have been placed upon Dr. Du Bois's editorial, a number of them erroneous and especially the one which interprets the editorial as a statement of the position of the N.A.A.C.P. The historic position of the N.A.A.C.P. has from the date of its foundation been opposed to segregation. Dr. Du Bois's editorial is merely a personal expression on his part that the whole question of segregation should be examined and discussed anew. There can be no objection to frank and free discussion on any subject and The Crisis is the last place where censorship or restriction of freedom of speech should be attempted. I wish to call attention to the fact that the N.A.A.C.P. has never officially budged in its general opposition to segregation. Since Dr. Du Bois has expressed his personal opinion why this attitude might possibly have to be altered I should like to give my personal opinion why I believe we should continue to maintain the same attitude we have for nearly a quarter of a century, but I repeat that what I am about to say is merely my personal opinion just as Dr. Du Bois's editorial expressed his personal opinion.

Let us put aside for the moment the ethical and moral principles involved. It is my firm conviction, based upon observation and experience, that the truest statement in the January editorial is:

> "there is no doubt that numbers of white people, perhaps the majority of Americans, stand ready to take the most distinct advantage of voluntary segregation and cooperation among colored people. Just as soon as they get a group of black folk segregated, they use it as a point of attack and discrimination."

It is for this very reason that thoughtful colored people will be opposed to following the advice that "groups of communities and farms inhabited by colored folk should be voluntarily formed" where they involve government-financed and approved arrangements like the Homestead Subsistence projects.

It is unfortunate that Dr. Du Bois's editorial has been used, we learn, by certain government officials at Washington to hold up admission of Negroes to one of the government-financed relief projects. Protests have been made to Mrs. Roosevelt and others by the N.A.A.C.P. against such exclusion. Plans to admit Negroes as a result of the protest are being delayed with the editorial in question used as an excuse for such delay.

To accept the status of separateness, which almost invariably in the case of submerged, exploited and marginal groups means inferior accommodations and a distinctly inferior position in the national and communal life, means spiritual atrophy for the group segregated. When Negroes, Jews, Catholics or Nordic white Americans voluntarily choose to live or attend church or engage in social activity together, that is their affair and no one else's. But Negroes and all other groups must without compromise and without cessation oppose in every possible fashion any attempt to impose from without the establishment of pales and ghettoes. Arbitrary segregation of this sort means almost without exception that less money will be expended for adequate sewerage, water, police and fire protec-

tion and for the building of a healthful community. It is because of this that the N.A.A.C.P. has resolutely fought such segregation, as in the case of city ordinances and state laws in the Louisville, New Orleans and Richmond segregation cases; has opposed restrictive covenants written into deeds of property, and all other forms, legal and illegal, to restrict the areas in which Negroes may buy or rent and occupy property.

This principle is especially vital where attempts are made to establish separate areas which are financed by moneys from the federal or state governments for which black people are taxed at the same rate as white. No self-respecting Negro can afford to accept without vigorous protest any such attempt to put the stamp of federal approval upon discrimination of this character. Though separate schools do exist in the South and though for the time being little can be done towards ending the expensive and wasteful dual educational system based upon caste and color prejudice, yet no Negro who respects himself and his race can accept these segregated systems without at least inward protest.

I cannot agree with the statement made by Dr. Du Bois in the February CRISIS that the N.A.A.C.P. opposed the establishment of the Veterans' Hospital at Tuskegee "although it is doubtful if it would have opposed such a hospital in the North." The N.A.A.C.P. did oppose, and successfully, the recent attempt to establish a segregated Veterans' Hospital at Chester, Pennsylvania. It was the feeling of many of us then and is now that the fight should be made for the acceptance of Negro physicians, specialists and nurses on the basis of ability to the staffs of *all* Veterans' Hospitals rather than to ask for jim-crow hospitals.

Nor can I agree that the failure of the citizens of Philadelphia to resist more persistently, intelligently and militantly the establishment of a partial system of elementary Negro schools is necessarily approval of the segregation which has been established. This opening wedge will undoubtedly result in *more* segregation in schools and other public institutions unless aggressively fought. Like cancer, segregation grows and must be, in my opinion, resisted wherever it shows its head.

It is admittedly a longer and more difficult road to full and unrestricted admission to schools, hospitals and other public institutions, but the mere difficulty of the road should not and will not serve as a deterrent to either Negro or white people who are mindful not only of present conditions but of those to which we aspire. In a world where time and space are being demolished by science it is no longer possible to create or imagine separate racial, national or other compartments of human thought and endeavor. The Negro must, without yielding, continue the grim struggle *for* integration and *against* segregation for his own physical, moral and spiritual well-being and for that of white America and of the world at large.

LESLIE PINCKNEY HILL
President, Cheyney Training School for Teachers

THE world in which we actually live today is not governed by truth or logic or reason. It is controlled chiefly by those prejudices, inherited and acquired, which have come down from prehistoric ages. The world is not a united world. It is definitely divided up into races and nations. And the feeling of race and nationality is deeper in human life everywhere today than ever before. This is in no way difficult to understand. We have only to remember that we are still in the long wake of the World War. War has always intensified the group feeling and developed the positive sense of belonging. We had thought for a while that transportation and communication, in all their subtle modern forms, nay, that the war itself, might break down the bars and give us a united world of brothers. That is what all good men want. That is the end and the dream. But the actual world is still completely divided up into self-conscious and intensified groups, races and nations.

It must be carefully understood, of course, that I am not considering now, in this brief statement, that marginal life of all people, wherein there is a perpetual blending and crossing, and where individuals are free from all group bonds. In the long reaches of unpredictable time this marginal life may come to be the universal life. I am speaking now strictly of men in the mass the world over. These masses everywhere, without regard to race or place, broadly speaking, are segregated. And it is not a question of whether this segregation has come about by force or by choice. No intelligent person is advocating it. It is simply a hard universal fact. My concern is that we Negroes shall recognize the fact and decide what we are going to do about it. Here, there should be one mind.

The first need is that we shall face the facts frankly and intelligently. And the first bitter fact is that races and nations in the crossing of their paths have always meant exploitation and war and hatred. This is because tribes and races and nations up to this moment have been motivated by the idea of dominance. All these separated world groups, through millenniums of time, have developed skills, services, behaviors, ways of looking at life, and richly varied expressions of the meaning to them of human existence. And all these things are, in themselves, good. The evil has lain always in the assumption, against all truth and reason, that one should profit at the expense of another. that the strong has a right to exploit the weak, that some are superior and others consequently inferior. The truth is that every people, every gift, is good and necessary. These varied gifts are the effective bridges from one group to another. They are proofs after all of a oneness of mankind in its response to whatever is good or beautiful or true. The enduring races of man thus far have failed of this perception And right at this point we come to the sublime opportunity of the Negro, even in his segregated life. I am profoundly stirred when I contemplate this privilege, lest by division among ourselves we lose it.

Let us not be frustrated or stultified or split up, brothers, by the ugly force of this world curse known as segregation. We are bound to all men everywhere by the bond of suffering which the word connotes. Segregation operates upon us disastrously as it operates upon all people. It undermines health by keeping good people out of clean streets and sanitary houses. It shuts off a thousand enjoyments. It cheats our children out of a proper education. It prostitutes law. It corrupts government. It steals from the poor wages, shelter, clothing and food. It blinds men, stops their ears and hardens their hearts. It keeps white people and black people ignorant of one another and brings a spiritual impoverishment upon the land.

But the other side of the picture is to me the more important and compelling. If group life, segregated life, is at this moment inescapable for us and for all men, my counsel is that we organize our part of it for the highest racial and world ends. Let us keep a vision of a world of brothers. Let us cooperate and associate with all good hearts and all liberal minds round about us, building a new life under a new ideal from the ground on which we stand. Let us center ourselves in the great determination to develop a world service by showing in America, for instance, that twelve millions of us refuse to commit the follies by which so many other clans and tribes and nations have been destroyed.

My meaning here is very plain. While others have welded themselves together through the centuries for conquest and always failed, we may unite

for *service*, the only banner under which defeat is impossible. While others have stood for hatred and exploitation and war, and sunk into less than nothingness, we may give our uttermost to good-will and cooperation —to that type of association which Mazzini preached. Instead of minimizing any other race of men, we may magnify all. In place of the doctrine of inferiority and superiority, we may exemplify and teach a fundamental equality. Instead of making money and creature comfort the measures of human worth, we may exalt again the imperishable things of the soul. If we are losing our bread-and-butter footing anywhere in the white world, let us stand together in supporting Negro business and the Urban League. If the law breaks down where Negroes are concerned, let us work, unitedly, without any wasteful conflict of leadership, for public servants who will advance the interests of all the people. Let us rally to the support of the N.A.A.C.P. So in education. If the great white colleges and universities are naturally centered in that learning which serves best the needs of the great white race, let us support the National Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, and build up by solid race support centres of learning where Negro youth shall have the still more liberal learning which they need today for survival and for progress. Let us support effective Negro schools of every type. Where the white stage, white literature, and white art conspire to represent us chiefly as zanies, or as defeated, helpless, dependents, let us compound our intellect and our genius to lift up our own vast drama in dignity and power. Let us have unity without a break in standing before the whole public school system everywhere on the great principle which insists that our children shall have teachers, whatever their color, who know these children and have a deep and consecrated will to serve them. No other teacher is fit, for in this proper education of our children we reach the very bed rock of all our hope. When the world goes bitter let us keep our poise, our native grace, our humor and our rhythm by an exalted resolution.

It is not isolation or segregation that men need any longer, but the association and cooperation of a world of friends. And these vast boons will come to us, I am convinced, in the degree in which we develop our own self-respect, self-reliance, and a wide world service. We have the challenging privilege of pointing out nothing less than a new way in unity for all the sons of man.

This is the sublime opportunity which even our present segregated existence affords. Nobody can do these great things for us but ourselves. And when we do build in unity, in mutual confidence, and in self-respect, refusing to let a word stalemate us or suspicion and internal strife divide us, we may by this high spiritual accomplishment go over the bars. We shall have defeated segregation. We shall find that we are united indissolubly to a multiplying world made up of like liberal mind and generous gift in every race. So may we construct at least the vanguard of the Kingdom.

CLARK FOREMAN
Department of the Interior

IT IS ONLY incorporated, government bodies that are entitled to the 30 per cent grant which the Public Works Administration gives when it finances public projects. Therefore. if the leaders of the colored race are to control their own projects, financed by the Federal Government, they must do so through some public body which they control. With few exceptions, these public bodies in the United States are the incorporated Negro towns. I am perfectly willing to admit your description of these towns as a group, but that does not mean that with proper financing from the Federal Government, that they could not become strategic nuclei from which the political and economic power of the Negro race in this country could be fortified. If we are going to accomplish what both you and I want, we must begin somewhere, and I personally don't think that the "back-to-the-farm" movement offers any solution from an economic or political standpoint. The only alternative that I see is through existing corporate bodies controlled by Negroes. I have repeatedly stated that some of these towns controlled by Negroes have mixed populations, and certainly any that are successful will become mixed very soon thereafter.

CLARENCE E. PICKETT
Division of Subsistence Homesteads, Department of the Interior

I HAVE your letter of November 29 setting forth the reasons for establishing a separate Subsistence Homesteads colony for Negroes. I appreciate this clear statement.

It now seems likely that we will establish one, and perhaps others, on this basis. Since, however, the fund is experimental, I am hoping that we can also develop some without the element of segregation involved.

S. H. ARCHER
President of Morehouse College: Atlanta, Georgia

SOMETIME AGO you sent me a communication concerning the organization of farm communities by Negroes under their economic control and direction. This was used with very good effect in the larger committee that is attempting to secure Federal aid for the farm project.

The January issue of THE CRISIS had an article that clarified the thinking of a great many people on segregation and discrimination.

Your leadership in thinking is one of the very fine contributions that you are making to our American life.

DR. WILL ALEXANDER
Commission on Inter-Racial Co-operation

"THANKS FOR sending me a copy of your comments on the possibility of co-operative colored farm communities here in the South. I am particularly interested in your suggestion of co-operation between the Negro farmer, the Negro worker, and the Negro professional man. I see no reason why the government should not be interested at least in financing a limited number of experiments in this connection."

Brotherhood

By EDWARD HUNGERFORD

ARE THINGS so different in themselves,
After the light has been withdrawn?
I came into this world a shadow-soul;
But shall I love the sunlight less,
The flowers,
Swift moving clouds,
The stretch of hilly lawn?

Pardon, sir! A sad mistake!
I thought there was enough of life and love
For both of us!

I dreamed great dreams of Brotherhood . . .
Yet I may only love it from afar;
And cast shy, yearning glances
When it turns the other way.
An outcast's fate!

Or gaze into its eyes
And find a look of utter hate!

Report On Harlem Hospital

This article is a digest of the 80,000 word report on Harlem Hospital. The April issue of THE CRISIS *will carry a second and concluding installment. Negotiations are under way for the printing of the complete report.*

ON January 7, 1933, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, invited a group of laymen, educators, clergymen and physicians, to form a committee for the purpose of investigating Harlem Hospital. The response from those invited was practically unanimous and the first meeting of the committee was held on January 30, 1933. It became evident at once that the situation at Harlem Hospital was important for the advancement of medical training for colored people and that it carried wide implications extending into the fields of economics, education, racial integration and politics. The committee came to the conclusion, therefore, that a casual survey of the hospital would not bring out the facts and would be without effect. It recommended to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People that the scope of the study be broadened to include consideration of the opportunities for the medical training of colored people throughout the United States and that funds be procured to employ a staff of experienced investigators.

Chiefly through the interest of the Carnegie Corporation funds soon became available. The Committee was then highly fortunate in securing the services of E. H. L. Corwin, Ph.D., and Gertrude Sturges, M.D., who have had unusually wide experience in studying hospital and civic problems. They began work on February 23, 1933, and this report is based upon the observations and data which they have gathered with great intelligence and energy.

While it may be said that no solution of the problem is offered, the facts are presented in this report, and it is the hope of the Committee that knowledge of them will dispel the illusions under which many people have been misguided.

WALTER L. NILES, M.D.,
Chairman.

THE NEGRO MEDICAL SITUATION

IT has been estimated that there are 4,000 Negro physicians in the United States. If this be an accurate estimate, the proportion of Negro physicians to the Negro population is one to every 3,000. At the present time the number of persons per physician for the country at large is approximately 780. There are, therefore, about four times as many physicians in relation to the general population as there are Negro physicians in proportion to the colored population.

Below the Mason and Dixon line, where the bulk of the Negro population resides, there are two medical schools for Negro students, Meharry Medical College, at Nashville, Tennessee, and the Howard University College of Medicine, at Washington, D. C. Both of these schools are of about equal capacity and although given an "A" rating, they fall behind other grade "A" schools in equipment and personnel. These two schools graduate about 100 students annually. There are about an additional 20 students who graduate annually from the white medical schools. Whether there exists an *effective* demand for a larger yearly supply of Negro doctors is a matter of conjecture. The annual complement of new graduates must replace those who die and those who withdraw from practice, as well as meet the higher standards of requirement.

Thus it will be seen that the Negro graduates in medicine have a very limited opportunity for interne training. The lack of opportunities for interne training is made doubly hard for those of the Negro graduates who desire to practice medicine in the 12 states where an interneship is a prerequisite to licensure. The situation of the Negro graduate is not relieved by the fact that there is annually an excess of from 1400 to 1500 hospital interneships over the available number of applicants. In the hospitals open to him (i. e. the Negro hospitals) the total number of interneships is less than the total number of graduates every year, and in view of the fact that some of the interneships are longer than a year's duration, the limitation becomes still more evident.

There are but very few hospitals, outside of the so-called Negro hospitals, which admit a Negro graduate to an interneship, and that is why the Harlem Hospital in New York City looms so large on the Negro medical horizon and why all that pertains to Harlem Hospital assumes a national importance, so far as the Negro is concerned.

It is beside the scope of this brief summary of the general situation to describe in detail the various types of organization of Negro hospitals. They range from such municipal hospitals as those of Kansas City and St. Louis, which are entirely under Negro control and operation, to the Provident Hospital of Chicago, which is associated with the University of Chicago, or the Provident Hospital of Baltimore, which is under a colored board of trustees, but where the responsibility for all the free ward work is almost exclusively in the hands of a white staff, and where only a few Negro practitioners are given the privilege of treating their private patients in the hospital under supervision. The Mercy Hospital of Philadelphia has a bi-racial board of trustees, a Negro medical staff, and white board of consultants. There are three Negro hospitals in North Carolina where the medical staff consists of white and Negro physicians: The L. Richardson Memorial Hospital, Greensboro, the St. Agnes Hospital, Raleigh, and the Good Samaritan Hospital, Charlotte. At the Dixie Hospital, Hampton, Virginia, there are wards, semi-private and private rooms for both white and colored patients, and physicians of both races participate in staff meetings. The Harlem Hospital in New York is different from all the others. It is *sui generis*, a type by itself.

It is the only hospital in the country where Negro physicians are on the same footing as the white members of the staff, and enjoy exactly the same rights and privileges as the others. The Hospital constitutes a prototype of an institution, whose example, in the interests of advancement of Negro medicine, should be followed elsewhere. Recently, Cleveland has made a beginning along these lines. It is therefore, particularly to be regretted that this pioneering type of institution should have become a storm centre. The strife engendered by the policies of Harlem Hospital seems somewhat similar to that which followed the renovations after the reorganization of the Provident Hospital in Baltimore, when the management of the Hospital was taken over by a consulting staff of white physicians and surgeons. The restriction of practice within the hospital to members of the staff created dissatisfaction when some colored physicians, with established practices in the community and former privileges in the old Provident Hospital, were refused appointments. They resented the action and complained that it undermined their status in their own community. The march of progress causes, no doubt, a great deal of inevitable and unintended hardship. Insofar as it is possible, it should be guarded against wilfulness and exploitation for selfish ends.

THE latest available figures with regard to the expectation of life indicate that while the average life span for white males is 54.16 years and for white females, 56.64 years, it is 44.25 years for Negro males and 46.39 years for Negro females, a difference of ten years in males, and of twelve years in females.

The principal causes of mortality of the colored races in the United States in order of their numerical importance are: (1) Epidemic, endemic and infectious diseases including malaria, influenza, syphilis, etc.; (2) diseases of the circulatory system, diseases of the genito-urinary system and annexa (of non-venereal character); (4) diseases of the respiratory system; (5) diseases of the nervous system and organs of special sense; (6) external causes; (7) general diseases, (not indicated under No. 1); (8) diseases of the digestive system; (9) diseases of early infancy, and (10) diseases associated as of the puerperal state.

The above inadequate presentation of the subject is probably sufficient to establish the point that the Negro presents a serious public health problem. Toward the solution of this problem the Negro himself must contribute. There are enormous opportunities for the Negro physician and the Negro public health nurse in this vast and neglected domain. They must strive to obtain the necessary technical equipment to deal with the problems at hand, and as the personnel becomes available, the various governmental agencies will, no doubt, make use of it.

The Negro Problem at Harlem Hospital

As the Central Harlem section of the City became inhabited almost exclusively by Negroes, the Harlem Hospital, which is located in the heart of this area, became the natural gravitation point in case of illness. The ambulance area assigned to the Hospital is almost practically identical with the area inhabited by the colored population. As a result, between 80% and 90% of the indoor patients of the Hospital are Negroes, and practically all the patients in the dispensary are colored. There are about 200,000 colored people residing in this area, which is equivalent to a good-sized city. This has attracted a considerable number of Negro physicians. There are upwards of one hundred and twenty-five Negro physicians practicing in this area, which is equivalent to an average of one physician to every fifteen hundred of the population.

Dismissals

It is difficult to trace in detail the appointments, resignations and dismissals of the Negro physicians at the Harlem Hospital since 1920. For the purposes of this investigation, however, it may be sufficient to point out that at the beginning of 1929, of the total number of 64 physicians and surgeons on the indoor staff of the Hospital, 8 were Negroes. During the year an additional Negro physician was added to the staff, so that just prior to the reorganization of the medical service in the Hospital, early in 1930, there were 9 Negroes on the indoor staff, 7 Negroes in the O. P. D., and 9 Negroes on the interne staff. After the reorganization 19 Negroes were appointed to the indoor service alone. The number of Negroes on all the staffs has gradually been increasing. On January 1, 1931, the total number of Negroes on the indoor staff had increased to 40; 19 of whom were dentists. Of the interne staff 13 were colored and in the O. P. D., the number was 28. On January 1, 1932, the indoor Negro staff was 38, only 6 of whom were dentists. There were 27 Negroes on the O. P. D. staff, 5 of whom were dentists, and there were 14 colored internes. The medical authorities of the institution have evidently recognized their responsibility toward the community and the racial claims, and have endeavored to train as large a corps of physicians in the Hospital as is consistent with the primary purpose of the Hospital, which is to render the best possible service to the sick.

The Committee is convinced that some of the criticisms which have been made of the Hospital are not without justification, and that in the reorganization the Hospital lost a number of experienced physicians and surgeons. There is, however, no evidence that the change effected has created low standards of professional or administrative work in the Hospital, or that the Hospital has become a football of politics, or that the Hospital is not recognizing its responsibilities toward the Negro community. The general standards of service prevailing in the Hospital, and the administrative and other procedures, although falling short of the ideal, are on a par with those of other hospitals in the City which are likewise situated as to means and personnel. The Hospital undoubtedly suffers at the present time from lack of proper accommodations and equipment.

Since 1931, the official bed capacity of the Hospital has been 325 beds, of which 52 are bassinets. The bed capacity of the Hospital was rated at 341 in 1930, and as high as 385 in 1929. It has been explained that it has been lowered to the present figures in accordance with the requirements of the State Board of Social Welfare, which specify a certain number of cubic feet per bed in a hospital ward, and definite space between beds.

In looking over the number of patients treated in the Hospital annually since 1927, it appears that in this period of six years, the highest number of patients treated was in 1927 (12,041 patients) and the lowest was in 1929 (9,726 patients). In 1932 the total number of patients treated was 11,510. In that year the proportion of Negro patients constituted 83% of the total. The proportion of female colored patients was 5 to 4. The ratio is reversed in the case of white patients.

The utilization of the Hospital during the last two years has been considerably above the official bed capacity. The average census of 1931 was 275 and 321 in 1932. The highest number of patients in the Hospital at any one time was 414 in 1931 and 441 in 1932. The overcrowding necessitates the placing of double rows of beds in the middle of the wards and at times even in the corridors.

The medical mortality for the year 1932 was 29.6% and the surgical mortality was 7.2%. The comparative mortality percentages in nine general hospitals of the Department brings out the fact that the mortality rate of Harlem Hospital during the past four years has been consistently higher than that of any of the other municipal hospitals. The Harlem Hospital authorities maintain that the reason for the high mortality at Harlem Hospital is due to the fact that the great bulk of the patients are Negroes, who, as a race, and now because of destitution, constitute a poorer risk than the whites and succumb readily to pulmonary diseases. It has been further stated that the patients who come to Harlem are usually more advanced in their illnesses than patients in the other municipal hospitals and that a large percentage of them—larger than in other hospitals—are moribund when they arrive. The last mentioned point is borne out by the statistics obtained from the Department of Hospitals which indicate that Harlem Hospital has had during 1932 the largest number of 48 hour deaths.

Postscript
by W. E. B. DuBois

SUBSISTENCE HOMESTEAD COLONIES

THE difficulty with the modern wage contract is that the contracting parties, the worker and the employer, do not meet with equal power to negotiate. The wage earner must accept in most cases any wage offer because otherwise he will starve to death; and since the employer's profit depends on the amount that he can save from wages, he is tempted to reduce the wage as nearly as possible to the bare necessities for keeping the worker alive.

To attack this difficulty there have been many proposals, like minimum wage laws, the distribution of capital among workers and other socialistic and communistic experiments.

But one of the most feasible remedies is to make it possible for the worker to support himself with food and shelter even if temporarily he is out of employment or holding out for higher wage. The one method of accomplishing this is by small homesteads where the worker and his family by extra and healthful outdoor work can raise his own food.

It is a fine project and deserves all success; but like everything in the United States, it brings up the Negro problem. Such homesteads might be bought anywhere in connection with the present distribution of industry; but it would be cheapest and on the whole most feasible, if they were established in colonies, and this immediately brings up the question: Who shall be selected for these colonies?

We can yell our heads off and pass the bravest and most uncompromising resolutions and yet we know that most homestead colonies, and particularly those in the South, are not going to select any Negro participants, except as servants and casual laborers.

It would be fine if people were selected without regard to color, but in the United States this is simply impossible. The color of a man's skin in a colony of this sort would mean more to the colony than any other characteristic. His integrity, his ability, his industry, his personal characteristics, would count for nothing, as set in all against the fact that he was of Negro descent.

So far then as these colonies are voluntary associations or incorporated bodies, the Negro would be given no chance to enter on equal terms with the whites. For the most part in the South he would be deprived of politicial rights; he would have to have separate social institutions, such as schools and churches, and his economic opportunities in various ways would be curtailed. Under these circumstances, it would be nothing less than idiotic for colored people themselves to refuse to accept or neglect to ask for subsistence homestead colonies of their own. They would have a chance to select the character of people with whom they wanted to live; they would have a chance of making these settlements model settlements of which anybody would be proud, and they would do more in the long run to break down the Color Line than they could by any futile and helpless denunciation of race prejudice. It seems almost impossible that honest, clear-thinking American Negroes can not see this patent fact.

SEPARATION AND SELF-RESPECT

WHAT we continually face in this problem of race segregation in the United States is a paradox like this:

1. Compulsory separation of human beings by essentially artificial criteria, such as birth, nationality, language, color and race, is the cause of human hate, jealousy and war, and the destruction of talent and art.

2. Where separation of mankind into races, groups and classes is compulsory, either by law or custom, and whether that compulsion be temporary or permanent, the only effective defense that the segregated and despised group has against complete spiritual and physical disaster, is internal self-organization for self-respect and self-defense.

The dilemma is complete and there is no escape. The black man born in South Carolina has a right and a duty to complain that any public school system separated by artifical race and class lines is needlessly expensive, socially dangerous, and spiritually degrading. And yet that black man will send his child to a Negro school, and he will see to it, if he is really a man, that this Negro school is the best possible school; that it is decently housed and effectively taught by well-trained teachers. He will demand a voice in its control, finances and curriculum, and any action of his that asks for less than this will mark him as an idiot or a coward.

A black man born in Boston has a right to oppose any separation of schools by color, race or class. He has a duty to insist that the public school attended by all kinds and conditions of people, is the best and only door to true democracy and human understanding. But this black man in Boston has no right, after he has made this academic pronouncement to send his own helpless immature child into school where white children kick, cuff or abuse him, or where teachers openly and persistently neglect or hurt or dwarf its soul. If he does, he must not be surprised if the boy lands in the gutter or penitentiary. Moreover, our Boston brother has no right to sneer at the "Jim-Crow" schools of South Carolina, or at the brave teachers who guide them at starvation wage; nor can he conscientiously advise the South Carolinian to move to Boston and join the bread lines.

Let the N.A.A.C.P. and every upstanding Negro pound at the closed gates of opportunity and denounce caste and segregation; but let us not punish our own children under the curious impression that we are punishing our white oppressors. Let us not affront our own self-respect by accepting a proffered equality which is not equality, or submitting to discrimination simply because it does not involve actual and open segregation; and above all, let us not sit down and do nothing for self-defense and self-organization just because we are too stupid or too distrustful of ourselves to take vigorous and decisive action.

HISTORY OF SEGREGATION PHILOSOPHY

RACE segregation in the United States too often presents itself as an individual problem; a question of my admission to this church or that theater; a question as to whether I shall live and work in Mississippi or New York for my own enjoyment, emolument or convenience.

In fact this matter of segregation is a group matter with long historic roots. When Negroes were first brought to America in any numbers, their classification was economic

rather than racial. They were in law and custom classed with the laborers, most of whom were brought from Europe under a contract which made them practically serfs. In this laboring class there was at first no segregation, there was some inter-marriage and when the laborer gained his freedom, he became in numbers of cases a landholder and a voter.

The first distinction arose between laborers who had come from Europe and contracted to work for a term of years, and laborers from Africa and the West Indies who had made no contract. Both classes were often held for life, but soon there arose a distinction between servants for a term of years and servants for life. Even their admission to a Christian church organization was usually considered as emancipating a servant for life, and thus again the purely racial segregation was cut across by religious considerations.

Finally, however, slavery became a matter of racial caste, so that white laborers served for definite terms and most black workers served for life. But even here anomaly arose in the case of the small number of Negroes who were free. For a while these free Negroes were not definitely segregated from other free workers, but gradually they were forced together as a caste, holding themselves, on the one hand, strictly away from the slaves, and on the other, being excluded more and more severely from inter-course with whites of all degrees.

The result was that there grew up in the minds of the free Negro class a determination and a prejudice which has come down to our day. They fought bitterly with every means at their command against being classed with the mass of slaves. It was for this reason that they objected to being called Negroes. Negroes was synonymous with slaves. They were not slaves. They objected to being coupled with black folk by legislation or custom. Any such act threatened their own freedom. They developed, therefore, both North and South as a separate, isolated group. In large Southern cities, like New Orleans, Savannah and Charleston, they organized their own society, established schools and churches, and made themselves a complete segregated unit, except in their economic relations where they earned a living among the whites as artisans and servants, rising here and there to be semi-professional men and small merchants. The higher they rose and the more definite and effective their organization, the more they protested against being called Negroes or classed with Negroes, because Negroes were slaves.

In the North, the development differed somewhat, and yet followed mainly the same lines. The groups of free colored folk in Boston, Newport, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Cincinnati, all formed small, carefully organized groups, with their own schools and churches, with their own social life, with their own protest against being classed as Negroes. As the mass of Negroes became free in the Northern states, certain decisions were forced upon these groups. Take for instance, Philadelphia. An event happened in April, 1787, which may be called by the American Negro, the Great Decision. The free colored people of Philadelphia at that time were making a desperate fight for recognition and decent social treatment.

Two of their leaders, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, had proffered their services during the terrible epidemic in 1792, and partly at their own expense, helped bury the deserted dead of the white folk. The Mayor properly commended them. Both these men worshipped at St. George's Methodist Church, then at 4th and Vine Streets. For years they had been made welcome; but as gradual emancipation progressed in Pennsylvania, Negroes began to pour in to the city from the surrounding country, and black Christians became too numerous at St. George's. One Sunday morning during prayer, Jones and Allen were on their knees, when they were told they must get up and go to the gallery where hereafter black folk would worship. They refused to stir until the prayer was over, and then they got up and left the church. They never went back.

Under these circumstances, what would you have done, Dear Reader of 1934? There were several possibilities. You might have been able to impress it upon the authorities of the church that you were not like other Negroes; that you were different, with more wealth and intelligence, and that while it might be quite all right and even agreeable to you that other Negroes should be sent to the gallery, that you as an old and tried member of the church should be allowed to worship as you pleased. If you had said this, it probably would have had no effect upon the deacons of St. George's.

In that case, what would you have done? You could walk out of the church but whither would you walk? There were no other white churches that wanted you. Most of them would not have allowed you to cross their threshold. The others would have segregated you in the gallery or at a separate service. You might have said with full right and reason that the action of St. George's was un-Christian and despicable, and dangerous for the future of democracy in Philadelphia and in the United States. That was all quite true, and nevertheless its statement had absolutely no effect upon St. George's.

Walking out of this church, these two men formed an organization. It was called the Free African Society. Virtually it was confined to a colored membership, although some of the Quakers visited the meetings from time to time and gave advice. Probably there was some discussion of taking the group into the fellowship of the Quakers, but liberal as the Quakers were, they were not looking for Negro proselytes. They had had a few in the West Indies but not in the United States. The excluded Negroes found themselves in a dilemma. They could do one of two things: They could ask to be admitted as a segregated group in some white organization; or they could form their own organization. It was an historic decision and they did both.

Richard Allen formed from the larger part of the group, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which today has 750,000 members and is without doubt the most powerful single Negro organization in the United States. Absalom Jones formed St. Thomas Church as a separate Negro church in the Episcopal communion, and the church has had a continuous existence down to our day.

Which of these two methods was best will be a matter of debate. There are those who think that it was saving something of principle to remain in a white church, even as a segregated body. There are others who say that this action was simply a compromise with the devil and that having been kicked out of the Methodist Church and not allowed equality in the Episcopal Church, there was nothing for a self-respecting man to do but to establish a church of his own.

No matter which solution seems to you wisest, segregation was compulsory, and the only answer to it was internal self-organization; and the answer that was inevitable in 1787, is just an inevitable in 1934.

THE CRIPPLES

THE people of the United States on the President's birthday raised $943,928 through birthday balls, attended by 989,625 persons, to help the President's foundation at Warm Springs, Georgia, where young and old victims of infantile paralysis are started to health. It seems almost a pity to view this fine and spontaneous philanthropy with any touch of bitterness; and yet we have to remember that at the Warm Springs Sanitorium not a single Negro child can be admitted or treated, and that the President in his gracious acceptance of the national gift toward this noble movement, never mentioned and probably never thought of this intolerable and cruel discrimination against half the child cripples of the South.